
SHAHPUHR I, THE GREAT ON THE KAABAH OF ZOROASTER(KZ)

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With a large part of the world on fire and America in danger, perhaps even more from internal than from external sources, this writer feels it his duty before any other, here and now, while it is still possible for him, to publish as he may the greatest historical inscriptions found since Behistun. Whatever happens after that, *AJSL* for 1940 will contain for the generations to come a fair reading and presentation of all the wholly new material which the excavated surfaces of the Kaabah of Zoroaster have brought to light through the careful and highly efficient archeological field work of Dr. Erich Schmidt and his excellent staff under the auspices of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

The two major heroes of these great inscriptions are not disinterested spectators but major actors in the drama they unfold. They tell us what they did and accomplished as they themselves saw it.

This is particularly true of the masterful old king-maker Kartīr. He is an old schoolmaster and evidently "rolls his own" self-glorifying speeches for his broadcast on the stones. For kings and lords he knows and maintains exactly the correct manner and measure of respect and even humility, but he clearly demands and presently attains from them an even greater amount of regard and reverence for himself and his kind, and their influence upon his thoughts and acts is manifestly far less than is the influence he gains and wields over them. His scribal school, too, probably did more than develop Sasanian Middle Persian calligraphy in the directions which presently issued in the Avestan script, on the one hand, and in Book Pahlavi, on the other.

We do not know who educated and trained the scribes of Shahpuhr's court and government, nor how that was done. The Harranite of the Shapur monument was almost certainly not trained or educated in a Mazdayasnian priestly school. There is little, except what will presently be said, to indicate

that the Parthian scribe of our inscription or the secretary of the bureau of contracts mentioned in Shahpuhr's roll of honor were so trained. Darius had gotten largely away from priestly scribes by employing men from Aramaic business houses. There is no evidence that Parthian kings again introduced priests or scribes with priestly training; some Hellenistic training is in evidence on their coins throughout the entire period of their rule, and that was scarcely an accomplishment of any Iranian priesthood known to us. The inscriptions show that this Hellenistic influence carried over into the first two reigns of the Sasanians, with the Parthian influence carrying still further into the sixth or seventh reign. Training for these two was probably acquired largely in connection with government bureaus, as we see pretty clearly in early Moslem times, when the bookkeeping in the tax bureaus is transferred from Persian to Arabic (*AJSL*, Vol. LVI, Nos. 2 and 3 [April and July, 1939]). Some teaching was done from father to son, as in the case of Ibn al-Muqaffa^c, and something of this sort must have produced the scribal schools of Harran and Anbar, where Iranian priestly influence was small or nonexistent and government bureaus hardly great and extensive enough to furnish training to many men.

Shahpuhr I was certainly not a priest-ridden monarch. Magi are not made overmuch of in his tale; one only, Kartīr himself, is mentioned by name and he not in the higher ranks of Shahpuhr's roll of honor. Shahpuhr was, moreover, a masterful man, a man of action, who had seen plenty of real activity in his father's day, and who by his own hard work had accomplished much in his own right. He was no tyrannoid, crooning Charley McCarthy, moved by strings that others pulled, nor a man who had never earned his right to life and honor by an honest day's work. There is fair evidence that the priests, not wholly dissatisfied with him, perhaps not daring to show any dissatisfaction, did not, nevertheless, count him among their pet and favorite kings. There is fair evidence to show that beside him in his time there was probably no *magupat*, let alone a *magupatān magupat*. He may have been, among other things, a priest by inheritance from his forebears, though neither he nor his contemporaries ever mention this title, the nearest to it being the curious "King of Fires," not "King of Priests," at Shapur, some reason for which may be seen in the foundations and their liberal endowment, made or mentioned in this very inscription. By whatever title, perhaps simply as the real king he was, Kartīr himself, in his own inscription many years later, is fain to admit, that Shahpuhr considered himself and was the actual head of church and religion in his state.

Being a king well along in years when he decided to broadcast his glory in stone, Shahpuhr almost certainly and naturally did not "roll his own." Ahurmazd the scribe very probably did not receive his eighty handfuls of gold for no more than calligraphing this speech in Parthian Pahlavi on the stones; he had a hand in composing the broadcast; but just as probably and just as naturally in the case of a monarch like Shahpuhr he did his work under

considerable control. The old king himself certainly knew well the roster of his kingdoms and provinces, but for their proper listing and alignment, to avoid errors and omissions, he no doubt called his tax and correspondence bureaus into service. It is altogether likely that the doughty old warrior also controlled the proud story of his own wars, most of them personally conducted, but the details in the account of them were almost certainly furnished and checked over by his own and a captured Roman military staff.

When we come to Shahpuhr's religious foundations and their endowment, it appears to this writer that one senses a subtle change in style and tone. Even in the Parthian and its Greek translation the language becomes abruptly not only quite as religious as that of Darius is throughout but priestly, ecclesiastical, theological, in a manner wholly foreign to Darius anywhere. Rather more than that seems to happen in the Sasanian Middle Persian version, when toward the end, and especially at the very end, it departs from its fellow-versions and is pretty clearly no longer a mere translation. The omission of long phrases and shorter terms and serious changes in the forms of expression especially at the very end seem due to more than simply weary negligence. There Kartir appears to be running away out of control, omitting what he did not like, expressing his new orthodoxy in his own terms, registering something little short of disapproval of the terms and statements accepted and approved by Shahpuhr from Parthian priests, all in a manner which Kartir would not have dared to use with Shahpuhr alive, unless he were at least in his dotage or at the point of certain death. For, from all we know of Shahpuhr from other sources, from this inscription, and from Kartir himself, he may not have "rolled his royal own," but neither was he a man to wow his people and posterity with a speech which he had not at least carefully read, controlled, and approved.

All in all, even though we deduct from his statements all that we justly can and must, Shahpuhr I stands forth in the new light here thrown upon him as a real man, a man from whose greatness even Kartir's caviling actions and statements detract little, if anything. In fact, Kartir's own somewhat grudging admissions rather add to Shahpuhr's stature as compared to his immediate successors. His father may be the actual founder of the Sasanian empire. Even in his father's work Shahpuhr must be allowed his share. Then it is Shahpuhr who goes on from these beginnings and builds upon the new Sasanian foundation a world-empire. In the last analysis it is Shahpuhr, also, who starts the Persian Zoroastrian Mazdaism of his day off on its career as a state church. And then it is Kartir who first gives it outline, form, and being as *the* state church of the new world-empire.

Rightly and judiciously understood, these are not overstatements; in the briefest words they formulate the true value and the extraordinary importance of these inscriptions, whose finding, reading, and rapid publication form their own contribution to the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the University of Chicago.

Shahpuhr I, the Sasanian, deserves the epithet given him at the head of this first full publication of his proud *apologia pro vita sua*; he may rightfully be called Shahpuhr, the Great, to distinguish him from all other Shahpuhrs, even his great-grandson, Shahpuhr II *i dērang xwatāi*. In view of the fact that these finds were made and these results are published in the very time when Shāh Pahlavi is founding a modern Iran in a modern world, and that with his gracious permission and royal good-will the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago was enabled to undertake this work and in spite of difficulties to carry it to an outstandingly valuable conclusion, the writer feels that it is eminently just and fitting, that this new, true portrait of one of his greatest predecessors be dedicated to His Majesty, the new Shāh of a new Iranshahr.

Referring for introduction and scribal conclusion to the previous number of this *Journal*, under the caption "From Kartīr to Shahpuhr I" (LVII, No. 3 [July, 1940], 330-40), we proceed here to the essence and meat of Shahpuhr's story and unfold with our stones the tale of

I. SHAHPUHR'S KINGDOMS

The second section of Shahpuhr's great autobiography on the walls of the "Kaabah of Zoroaster" at Naqsh-i-Rustam near Istakhr-Persepolis is clearly and certainly a list of the countries which make up his newly founded empire. Its position in the great inscription and its contents are exactly parallel to the second section of the Behistun inscription of Darius the Great, in Weissbach's edition, §§ 6 and 7. Parallelism of this sort does not, of course, preclude considerable differences due to difference of times and circumstances. In spite of a space of some seven hundred and fifty years between the two, the similarities in this case, far outweighing natural differences, will be seen to be surprisingly great.

At the outset this section offers a special difficulty of its own. At just this point SasMP is very badly eroded; the Greek likewise has suffered greatly; and the ArsParth is sufficiently indistinct to make absolute certainty of reading from the photographs impossible. In the article "From Kartīr to Shahpuhr I" the closing words of the first section were assumed to be "Pāpak, king of the Aryan empire" (or "country"; Greek: "people, nation"). In none of the versions does any break or other sign indicate the close of one section and the opening of another. There is no constant reiteration of an opening phrase, as in Darius' "Says" or "proclaims Darius, the king." By contrast the third greater section of Shahpuhr's inscription starts off with "and" introducing a temporal clause: "when first I came to the throne." Leaving subsections, still less definitely marked off, aside, the fourth section introduces Shahpuhr's extensive foundations by a compound conjunction initiating a causal clause. Here one is left without the slightest indication of the exact point at which the genealogy of Shahpuhr ends and the enumeration of countries subject to him begins.

In the previous article it was regarded as practically certain that the

genealogical identification ended with a hitherto unknown title for Pāpak. The Greek sorely tempts one to consider this as the only possible reading. Upon sober second thought and further examination of all the evidence it is most unlikely. *Aryān-xšathr*, *Ērānšahr*, can hardly be Pārs alone, and Pāpak's kingdom was scarcely more than that. In spite of the Greek *ethnos* this combination means the Aryan empire, not a little people in a little country. The resumptive ending of this section in the first part of line 3 gives us a clue to what is thought of as being enumerated here. That ending begins with the words: "These so many countries (*xštr*) and rulerships (*xštrdr*) and *p(a)tykōsp(ā)n*." The Greek translates this peculiarly, as we shall see. The words and their order need not have been exactly the same here at the beginning in a sort of superscription or title. In fact, we can show that the order was almost the exact reverse. *ArsParth* has after *Ērānšahr* space for four words with "and" between the second and third and between the third and fourth. The fourth is followed immediately by the first of the countries enumerated. Here the sadly broken *SasMP* helps out beautifully. Its line 2 (former 1) can now be said definitely to begin with *[W]št[r-y]*, followed immediately by the names of the first two countries enumerated, which can now be read with certainty. With this in hand the Greek, though also badly damaged at this point, furnishes further corroboration; its last phrase in the superscription, just preceding the name of the country, which can now be seen to stand first in the list in all three versions, can now be read with a fair degree of safety: *kai [tauta ta eth]nē*. This enables us to read *ArsParth* at this point with certainty, though the outlines are faint: *W xštr*.

This enables us further with a great degree of certainty, varying, of course, in detail, to end the genealogy with "Papak, the king," and to read what follows as the introductory superscription to the list of lands thus: *aryan xštr xvtv[yp] ZNH Wxštrdr W xštr*, "Of *Aryān-xšathr* the lordships are these and the rulerships and the countries." In spite of the Greek *despotas* in line 6, it is pretty clear that *shahriyār* is used here in an abstract sense. The mask for it in *FrPhl*, XII, 1, *MLKWTA*, may be an abstract used as a title, like "Majesty, Royalty," but it is an abstract just the same. We shall see further that in this list by far the greater number of names must designate countries or kingdoms, and only at the very end clearly one, at most two, persons of rulers are named. The genitive initiating a phrase of this sort is not, in general, good Greek; but it is so common as to be almost normal and regular especially in inscriptional Pahlavi; examples may be found by those interested in *Kartīr* and elsewhere, also in the *Turfan* fragments.

This brings us for all three versions to the point where clearly a list of the countries constituting *Shahpuhr's* empire begins. This enumeration, as in *Darius' Behistun*, is the chief scope and content of this section. The surface in this section is broken or marred in larger or smaller spots in all three of the versions. It is possible, nevertheless, to establish the reading of the list until near the end, in fact, the actual names of countries and places until what is

probably their very end, with almost absolute certainty. This can be done, because (1) the three versions in some degree complement each other; (2) some supplements can be made from later lines; (3) *Kartir* and *Paikuli* furnish some very necessary aid.

About the true beginning of the list there can be no doubt whatever. *ArsParth* and *SasMP* alone and together might leave us a bit uncertain. The Greek *Persida* is absolutely certain. This makes it practically certain, that *.ars*, clearly legible at this point in the *ArsParth*, must be supplemented <P>*ars*. Likewise we can now read without any valid reason for doubt the second word of line 2 in *SasMP*: [P]<a>*rs-y*. Thus we have *Shahpuhr*, exactly like *Darius* seven hundred and fifty years before him, naming as the first of his lands the *Persis*. The word immediately following this is completely blotted out in the *ArsParth*, so far as can be made out in the photograph. The Greek is rather better, though marred; *Pa* can be made out quite clearly—then, slightly less so, *r*—then two illegible spaces are followed by fairly legible *an*; to complete the seven-letter word it is almost certain that we must supply in the blank spaces *thēta* and *iōta*, making the whole *Parthian*. The combination *Persis*, *Parthia*, is wholly clear and certain in line 16 of *ArsParth*, where there can be no doubt whatever of the reading *Pārs Parthav*. With this much to guide us here, and *Herzfeld's* reading of *Paikuli*, B, 6, 2 = line 8, pages 96 f., cf. line 5, pages 94 f., to help us, we can read the word following *Pars-y* in *SasMP*, line 2, with a high degree of certainty as *Pl=rsvb-y*, i.e., *Parsaw*, the early Sasanian form for *Parthia*. In contrast with the usage of *Darius*, who lists *Parthia* much later, we have here and in *Paikuli* early Sasanian usage, which pairs the *Persis* and *Parthia*. Exactly what is meant by *Parthia* here, need not at this time be discussed. What is clearly established is that the second country listed by *Shahpuhr* as belonging to his realm is the same in the three languages: <Prtv>, *Prsvb-y*, *Parthian*.

The third country is absolutely clear in *ArsParth*: *xvzstn*, i.e., *Khuzistan*. One would like to add a bit of corroboration from and for *SasMP*; but the surface is so bad that it would be merely fooling one's self by wishful thinking, if one tried to make any definite letter forms out of the uncertain and washed-out depressions shown in the photograph. The Greek is in different case. Without the help of *ArsParth*, decipherment of the damaged surface in the Greek at this point would have been hazardous indeed. With this help one may regard as nearly certain [Ouz] . . . ēn. For the same territory line 35 of the Greek shows *Ouzēnē*. The same form may with considerable confidence be sought here, extension of the two missing letters over a space sufficient for four, due to faulty stone surface, being a phenomenon common and frequent in these inscriptions, especially in the Greek. Thus we may read *Ouzēnēn*, or possibly *Ouzanēnēn*. This is the *Elam* of *Cyrus* and *Darius*, in earlier Arabic *Ahwaz*, at present, or up to a few years ago, *Persian Arabistan* (cf. *Le Strange, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 232).

For the fourth country it is again *ArsParth* which furnishes indubitable

evidence. Though slightly marred, the reading *myšn*, i.e., *Mēšān*, is absolutely certain. SasMP is missing. For the Greek the remnants on the broken surface can by the aid of the Parthian with considerable probability be read as *Mēsanēnēn*. Later on the Greek has a king *tōn Mēsanēnōn*. The remnants here seem best read, as stated, some extension in spacing being again due to chiselslip and correction on faulty or poor surface.

Of the three names that follow *Mēšān* the traces that are left in ArsParth are, except for the last letter space or two, so faint that without the Greek no reading could be safely ventured. The Greek is so clear, and a Parthian version of its readings fits the defective spaces so well, that there can be little doubt as to what the original Parthian text must have been. The fifth country in Greek is *Assurian*. Whether or not one believes, as one may, that in ArsParth traces of [*as*] are just visible after *Mēšān*, line 16 furnishes clear and complete *asvrstn*, i.e., *Āsūrestān*, in a series of four: *Pārs*, *Parthav*, *Khūzestān*, *Āsūrestān*.

For the sixth country the Greek has in unmistakable clarity *Adiabēnēn*. In the place where the Parthian equivalent ought to be my eye refuses to see the slightest truly recognizable remnant. Nevertheless, ArsParth at the end of line 24 furnishes us the exact word we need, *ntvšrkn*, with the same name appearing in its Middle Persian form in its proper place in SasMP, somewhat past the middle of line 30, as *ntxšyrkn*. These readings in Shahpuhr's reign make the etymological constructions of Marquart (Markwart) in *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānshahr*, ed. Messina (Rome, 1931), pages 81 and 105, practically incredible. The name of this province or minor kingdom can have nothing to do with Shahpuhr's father Ardashir, or that would be clearly visible still in the time of his son not more than thirty years after Ardashir's death. If the Tabari passage is correctly emended by Markwart, then that is simply a popular etymology in a popular story. The Armenian form *Nōr-Širakān* means New Shirakan, the old *Siracene* being to the mind of the Armenians northward, northwest of Ararat. This may also be an Armenian popular etymology. Neither the Parthian *ntv-* nor the Persian *ntx-* looks like any known Iranian form of "new" to this writer's mind. Adjacent to each other in the Adiabene-Hadyab region are two territories listed by the Armenian geographer of Marquart's *Ērānshahr* as *Notatraj* (p. 22) and *Širakan* (p. 23). The same pair is treated separately in Hoffmann's *Auszüge aus den syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, pages 208 ff. and 249 f. Whatever may be the etymological origin of the first of these two in its various forms, on which Marquart and Hoffmann vary widely, the Iranian name for Adiabene looks like a contracted combination of the two, perhaps brought about by the actual joining of the two into a single province or kingdom. How the difference between the Parthian and the Persian is to be explained, escapes this writer at this moment. Any contribution to a clean solution will be most welcome.

Toward the end of line 1 ArsParth becomes at first faintly, then increasing-

ly, discernible, to end in complete clarity. Without the Greek it would be unsafe to restore in its entirety Shahpuhr's seventh subject country. The Greek is unmistakably *Arabian*. With this we can restore with considerable certainty for the whole name, varying in degree from letter to letter, [arbs]tn-y. The added -y, chiefly with final -n, looks to me in this Parthian like a stroke closing the words with which it occurs, a variation of the older point or stroke between words in inscriptional writing, even though it is used neither regularly nor consistently here. If it should be intended for a real final -y, it would seem to be a mere occasional and irregular loan from Sasanian Middle Persian writing. It may have become little more than an occasionally used form of final -n. Because such a straight stroke does represent, quite as often as a slightly curved one, a true initial or medial y, and because an unmistakable final -y is so common in inscriptional Sasanian Middle Persian, the transliteration -y has been chosen for it here. Arabistan means different things in different times and situations. Modern Turks so name the country about Aleppo. In Iran (Persia) one thinks of older Khuzistan-Ahwaz as Arab land. Here, besides Assyria on the lower Tigris and Adiabene farther north toward the mountains, it is the territory west of these, the most largely nomadic section of Mesopotamia, which is so designated (cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 23, 25, 162 f.; Hoffmann, *Ausz. Akt. Märt.*, pp. 22 f.; Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, p. 27, No. 27, and *Altarm. Ortsnamen, Idg. Forsch.*, XVI, 228 and 319 f.; Honigsmann, *Ostgrenze des byz. Reiches*, pp. 5, 23, 25, 29).

Somewhat surprisingly No. 8 jumps well to the northeast, naming in Greek *Adourbadēnēn*, ArsParth [atr]vpt[k]n-y (cf. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, pp. 23 f.). ArsParth line 1 closes with No. 9, written clearly, *armn-y*, for which Greek naturally has *Armenian*, west of Adharbaijan.

Thus in line 1 the heart of the new empire, the center from which it started, is fixed with Persis, Parthia, and Khuzistan, and the western frontier section, inner and outer, is defined in a column broadening from south to north, from Meshan, through Assyria Adiabene, and Arabistan, to Adharbaijan and Armenia. At the beginning of line 2 this great column is topped off at the extreme north, in the Caucasus region, which was met first in Kartīr KZ (*AJSL*, LVII, No. 2 [April, 1940], 224). This northern top or capital of the great western column of empire contains in our inscription some surprising additions to the brief outline in Kartīr.

First, as in Kartīr, so here, Armenia is immediately followed by what is here the tenth of Shahpuhr's subordinate kingdoms and countries, in Greek *Iberian*. For this Kartīr furnishes us the regular SasMP *Vrvčan*. ArsParth is somewhat damaged but can with a reasonable degree of certainty be read as *Vyrš(=č)n*, for which one may compare Armenian *Wirk*^c (Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 101 and 163).

Number 11 is troublesome. The Greek *Makhelonian* points southeastward from Iberia to the region where the Makhelones or Macrones have given their name to the Makurdagh on the northern slopes of the Paryadres Mountains,

which we shall presently find mentioned, all directly south of Trebizond. For this, ArsParth has *Sykn*, which can perhaps be read *Sigān*, or, as far as the letter forms are concerned, even *Sirān* or *Sayrān*. This cannot be equated with the curious *Šikāšēn*, *Šakki* (Hübschmann, *Arm. Ortsn.*, pp. 211 and 352; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 118, 120 with n. 3,170), though this, too, is connected with Caucasian Iberia and Albania, apart from other reasons, because it is too far east for the Makhelones. But on the old caravan road from Trebizond to Persia, two days' journey by horse and wagon south of Trebizond, there lies in almost exactly the right spot the Zigana Pass and the modern village of Zigana (Baedeker, *Konstantinopel und Kleinasien* [2d ed.; 1914], p. 249; Kiepert, *Atlas Antiquus*, IV, Bp; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze des byz. Reiches*, p. 197). If that is near enough phonetically, it is geographically ideal. For the Makhelones one may see Pauly-Wissowa, Half-volume XXVII (1928), column 154; for Sikan, Sigān, Zigana, I know no derivation.

The twelfth of Shahpuhr's lands is so easily legible in both Greek and ArsParth as to require no further comment. The Greek is *Albanian*, ArsParth *Arđan*. SasMp in Kartīr (*loc. cit.*) is *Ar(r)an*.

With No. 13 we are in less good luck. ArsParth is clear enough, *Blaskn*. SasMP in Kartīr is *Blaskan*, which is the same thing with the long vowel of the last syllable expressed in writing. The Greek appears in the photograph to be flaked off so deeply that nothing can safely be read. It seems that Marquart also knew no Greek form from elsewhere. His statement (*Ērānšahr*, pp. 119 f.) that *Barāsakān* is the Iranian form is not borne out by our texts, and the writer does not know on what evidence it rests. To Marquart's Arabic texts one may add *Yāqūt*, *Buldān*, I, 173, line 12, and II, 780, line 6. This is the last of these little northern kingdoms, enumerated, with one exception, as in Kartīr, from west to east.

Now, again as in Kartīr, this boundary is defined by natural features of the landscape, but once more in this description also our royal inscription is more elaborate. Because it is important for comparison, we set down briefly Kartīr's statement: *tāk frāč ē Ālānān dar* (or *rāh*, perhaps *dar rāh*, "gateway"), literally "until forward to the Alans' Pass." In this connection it will be well to state that this writer now reads the first part of Kartīr's line 12: "Cappadocia . . . until forward to (i.e., 'all the way forward to') Galatia," and begs readers of these publications to note that correction of *AJSL*, LVII, No. 2 (April, 1940), 223 f. The parallel phrase in our ArsParth is: *xnprxš* (or *č*) *cl kpy k* (or *g*) *rvk* (or *r*) *n-y W alanNTRkn-y W xmkpryšxvr krvkn-y*, the spelling of the last word, as before, uncertain. The Greek is badly broken at the beginning and in the middle of this phrase, but the following line and curious proper names translated or transliterated in other literature help us supplement it with a fair degree of safety: *<(h)eōs emprosthen>* [*Ka*] *p orous kai [Alanōn]* *<parakh or paakh or phrouriou or pyrgou or kleisouras*, cf. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, p. 218, No. 499, and Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 99-101) [*kai*] *(h)olon to Pressouar oros*. The translation is simple: "All the way

to the Caucasus Mountains and the Alans' guardpost and the whole of the Paryadres mountain range." Parthian *Xnprxš*=MP *tāk frāž* (Kartir). In this compound preposition the Parthian element *xn-* =MP *tāk*, as in Herzfeld's *Paikuli, Glossary*, page 191, No. 401. Herzfeld's assumption that this is a Semitic word or mask is unfounded; in some, at least, of the places quoted it seems not to stand alone but to be part of a longer or shorter compound, as it is here and later in this inscription; before we can use *Paikuli* safely, we must have the fuller and better edition promised by Herzfeld. In the meantime our material for comparison is scanty, but perhaps sufficient. Salemann, *GIPh*, I, 1b, 318, note 9, is unintelligible to me. In the Turfan Pahlavi a curious parallel case is found, first noted as of unknown origin, by Bthl, *ZairWb*, page 65, note 1. Andreas-Henning, *MirMan*, I, *Glossary*, page 40 [212], shows *xmbdyž*, *xmpdž*, and *xmpdz*, all in some such sense as "corresponding to, parallel with." In the Parthian of *MirMan*, III, in i, 20, cf. *Glossary*, page 55[900], we find *hmpdyš* ²*w* translated "then he too," whereas in Ghilain, *Essai*, page 121, Henning seems inclined to render at least the first word as "but" with a question mark. The meaning "then" is assigned to *hmpd* in i, 65, and k, 6. A solution is nowhere suggested. In modern Persian *hampā*, *hampāy*, may be compared. For the first element of the compound, here *xn-*, in Turfan *xm-*, *hm-*, one may profitably see Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, page 279, § 564; that is not *tāk*, for whose origins one may nevertheless see Nyberg's *Hilfsbuch*, page 221, but it can in our compound mean what the English expresses by "all the way (forward) to"; *n* for *m* before *p* or *b*, as in Anbar, etc., perhaps to preclude complete assimilation, as my friend Ray Bowman suggests. Parthian *prxš* or *prxč* must have the same meaning and be the same word as MP *frāč*; an illuminative explanation of the difference in sound and writing is not up to this moment known to me. The word for "mountains, range," is in this form quite unknown to me. One is at first inclined to think of Pliny's *Croucasia*, quoted and discussed in Markwart's "Woher stammt der Name Kaukasus? *Caucasica*, VI, 1, 32 and note 1. Our word, however, is not limited to the Caucasus but is used for at least one, probably two, other mountain ranges further on in this inscription. It is clearly related to Avestan *garay-*, in Parthian naturally *garav-*, with an ending *-akān*. This is found in BPhl as *gar*, Horn, *GnpEt*, No. 89, where Kurdish *girk* may be noted. To Horn's statement we add with Bthl, *AirWb*, column 514, Afghan *ghar*; with Christensen, "Le premier homme," *Archives d'études or.*, XIV, 1, 64-105; Messina, *Ayātkār i Zāmāspīk*, page 89 with note 4, the title of primeval man, Gayōmart, in its older form, *Garshāh*, "mountain-king," the original "Old Man of the Mountains," later, through misreading of Pahlavi writing, ignorance of the long-disused word, and admixture of the clay feet of the "biblical" Adam, read as *Gilshāh*, "clay-, mud-king"; and with Herzfeld, *APIns*, page 311, *gar-mānishnīh*. Before carrying this safe list further a suggestion may here be offered on the Iranian "paradise," *garōdmān*; Bartholomae, *AirWb*, column 512, makes this a "house of praise," Hertel,

IQF, IX, 10 ff., "house of glowing fire," Nyberg, *Rel. d. alt. Iran*, pages 161 and 454, "house of song," Herzfeld, *APIs*, pages 166 ff., interprets as "storehouse, depository"; with Gayōmart as *Garshāh*, "Old Man of the Mountains" why may it not in its original setting most naturally be "mountain-house, mountain-residence"? Perhaps some support for this suggestion is contained in the curious Sumeru mountain of the Manicheans, in Sogdian *smyr gryy* (Henning, *MBBb*, p. 54, note on l. 489). This adds to Horn's list the Sogdian, for which we refer further to Gauthiot-Benveniste, *Gram. Sogd.*, I, 58, 145, 167; II, 87. All of this, taken together with our inscription, points to our word as the Parthian for "mountain," the Persian being *kōf(kōh)*. True, Turfan MP and Parthian both have *qōf*, *kōf* (A-H, *MirMan*, Vols. I, II, III, *passim*); but nearly or quite all the occurrences are in translations from MP. The distribution by languages and dialects and the use of the word here are safer guides for apportionment of these Iranian words for "mountains." Interesting is the use of the Semitic mask *NTR* in the name of the Alan Pass fortification. The Iranian word is in all probability *pahrakān* (cf. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.* pp. 218 f.; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, *passim*; Herzfeld, *AMI*, VII, No. 1, 57). The proper names used in the Greek for well-known mountain ranges, transcriptions of Iranian forms instead of the forms usual in proper Greek, are interesting and instructive. For the Paryadres range one may see Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, pages 66 f., No. 143, and *Arm. Ortsn.*, pages 211 f.; Honigsmann, *Ostgrenze des byz. Reiches*, page 181.

Herewith the western frontier column in two to four tiers is completed, and with the Caucasus and its border kingdoms and Adharbaijan we have in fact started our march along the northern frontier, which now proceeds summarily in an easterly direction. Following upon the mountain borders just described we now resume the list of subject countries and provinces and find as the fourteenth *Mād*, in the Greek curiously *Madēnēn* instead of Media (cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 18 ff., 71); there is no province of Ray, at least no country of that name worth mentioning here, between Adharbaijan and Media, as seems to be the case both earlier and later according to Marquart (p. 124); Ptolemy's conception, as registered by Marquart (p. 137), is interesting in this connection. The only other country touching the Caspian which is here mentioned is No. 15, *Vrkn* (cf. Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, p. 86, No. 202; Marquart, pp. 72 ff.), for which the Greek again does not have the older and more usual Hyrcania, but a transliteration, this time clearly from SasMP, *Gourgan*, which the Byzantine Greek listed in Marquart imitates less successfully than does the Syriac. *Gīlān*, though its king is mentioned later, is here omitted altogether.

Now we leave Caspian territory and proceed first southeastward and then directly southward. Thus we arrive first at *Mrgv*, for which the Greek, according to the reading of my friend George Cameron, made directly from the freshly uncovered stone, has *Marou*, though on the photograph, made a little later, when the uncovered surface was already beginning to flake off, it looks

like *Mazou*. Marou, i.e., Marw, undoubtedly correct, is again a rendering of the SasMP, for which Hübschmann and Marquart may be consulted by their indexes. Marw early became a center of Manichean activity, and thus we find it in one of the most vividly human Manichean documents a very short time after Mani's death, Andreas-Henning, *MirMan*, III, b, lines 118, 121, 124, and 136, in northeastern Parthian written *Mrg*, without the final *v* which characterizes Arsacid Parthian as used in the southwest.

From Marw we are taken straight south to *Xryv*, i.e., Herat (Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, p. 48, No. 100; Marquart in various works dealing with this region, *passim*). After and under the point which marks the end of the word *Marou*, the Greek has at the end of line 3 a form pinched down into the lower half and and a little below the line, which Cameron represents as a small triangle. This might be *A-*, starting the word finished at the beginning of line 4 by *-rēn*. In this case the Greek for Herat in this inscription would be *Arēn*, reminiscent of older Ariane and its variants. The final *-n* here is, of course, the accusative ending, leaving the name itself as *Arē*, which is improbable. Another possibility is that the crowded form might be a *chi*, which would be most unusual. The third possibility, by far the most probable, is that, after all, the apparent little letter at the end of line 3 is a mere triangular chisel punch to fill the line. Then the Greek for Herat here is simply *Rē*, accusative *Rēn*, the *rho* carrying its own breathing, which here has no special mark or symbol.

Whether we should count Marw and Herat as sixteen and seventeen, is just a bit doubtful. From them we now return to a westerly direction in a phrase, which like Khorasan elsewhere, seems to sum up that entire region: *W xmk-aprxštr*. The case is exactly parallel to that of the mountain ranges, where we read: "the Caucasus Mountains to the Alan fort, and the whole Paryadres range." The Caucasus is not the Paryadres range and is not included in it. So we count "the whole of *Aparxšathr*" as No. 18. The *k* of *xmk* looks like a *b*, but there is little doubt that it must be a *k*. This is borne out by the beginning of line 3 (former 2) in SasMP, which we can now put in its proper place and read with certainty, not *vxmn*, but *Wxmk-y A[prštr-y]*. The Greek is valuable for the interpretation of this name. *Aparšahr* may in the last analysis be, as Markwart says (*Catalogue*, § 15, pp. 52 ff.), "the country of the Aparnak," i.e., of the founders of the Parthian empire, but his "not the Upper-Country" is wrong. The Greek shows that exactly that is what one understood the name to mean in Shahpuhr's time, even though that may be a popular etymology, for it says *kai panta ta anōtatō ethnē*. It would be too much to expect for this entire great inland block of land the name Nev-Shahpuhr at this early time, even though this famous city, now Naisabur, should just have been founded. The argument from silence is never absolutely convincing, and this consideration appears to diminish its weight in this instance. Nevertheless, it is significant that neither here nor later is the existence of this noted foundation so much as hinted at, though other foundations of the same sort are brought into the picture as seats of satraps. This makes it very prob-

able, almost certain, that the celebrated Naisabur, which later gave its name to the entire province replacing Abarshahr, was founded by Shahpuhr II, not by our Shahpuhr, and Marquart's reasoning is thereby corrected.

Having stepped back westward for No. 18 to the great northerly inland block of "all of Aparšahr," we now move straight south for No. 19 to another great internal block in the empire, *Krmn*, very clear in *ArsParth* and, with the aid of the Parthian, decipherable in *SasMP* as *Krmn-y*. The pronunciation of Shahpuhr's time is indicated by the Greek *Kermanzēnēn*, no longer the old Karmania. All the older information needed may be obtained from Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, page 47, No. 93; Marquart, especially *Ērānšahr* and *Catalogue*, *passim*; Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, by index.

With twenty we find ourselves again transported northeastward, just south of Herat, to *Sgstn*, not safely identifiable in *SasMP*, which in line 24 has *Skstn*. In the Greek we read with perfect clarity *Segista-*, the ending *-nēn* being far less clear, but fairly certain. Later, in line 42, the Greek reads *Segistēnē*.

Twenty-one, unfortunately, can be read at this point in *ArsParth* only. We are evidently taken directly south from Segistan by a name here written *Tvgrn*, reminding one of some of the forms recently discussed in *BSOS* by Bailey and Henning for Tokharistan and Tokharian, with which, nevertheless, our territory can have nothing whatever to do. This is, of course, the old Turan, treated together with Makuran, as here, in Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pages 31 ff. (cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Pers. . . . aus Tabari*, p. 18, n. 1, and Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, p. 88, No. 210). The confusion with the later use of Turan for Turkestan, "the land of the Turks," is made easier by the form found in line 19, *Tvrgstn*, for which Greek, line 42, has *Tourēnē* and *SasMP*, line 24, *Tvrstn*. Greek and *SasMP*, wholly illegible at this point in the great list, can thus be safely supplied, though, of course, like the Parthian, they too may have had variant forms. The Parthian variant here is interesting and may indicate some knowledge about Tokharians at Shahpuhr's court, which led to a confusing fusion here; this must be left for further discussion later or by others. Of the meaning and site here there cannot be the slightest doubt.

Mkvrn, i.e., Makuran, following as the twenty-second immediately after Turan, is illegible in all but *ArsParth*, but there so clear that no hesitation need be felt about it. Its pairing with Turan in early Sasanian times has been noted above. We add here only the special reference to Hübschmann, *Arm. Gr.*, page 50, No. 103.

Twenty-three is *Partn*, i.e., Pāratān, completely legible in *ArsParth* only. Whether the Greek ending *-nēn*, legible here, had before it the form found in Ptolemy, *Paradēnēn*, or not, cannot be made out; to judge from other cases this is improbable. The *SasMP* form *Pardan*, is found in *Paikuli*. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, page 31, note 3, following Vincent A. Smith, and Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, *Glossary*, page 230, No. 782, following Marquart, are very dogmatic in placing this territory in the Surat district in India, between Baroda and Bombay.

This is too far east and south for Shahpuhr's list. In spite of Marquart's antagonism to Tomaschek, the latter is probably right with Ptolemy in placing Paratan in the region of the modern city of Pahrāh, Fahrāh, east of Bampur, between Makuran, modern Mekran, and Turan, perhaps not very different from modern Sarhad.

Now Shahpuhr has enumerated twenty-three countries like Darius, though he has not yet covered nearly as much territory as Darius, especially in the west, where the Sasanians reached Achaemenian frontiers only for a few years in their fiery sunset under Chosroes Parvez just before the great *débâcle* which ended in the Arab Moslem expansion. Eastward, however, Shahpuhr's list extends at least as far as that of Darius, as we now cross with his twenty-fourth conquest into *Xndstn*, Greek *Indian*, both perfectly clear. For this SasMP is illegible here, but in line 24, where it names the realm of Narseh, for whom *Paikuli* was written, it includes clearly written *Xnd-y*, not *Xndstn* as in the Parthian here. This proves little for what SasMP may have had here, for at the later point, in its line 19, ArsParth likewise has *Xnd*. What appears to be meant by India, Hindustan, is the Indus Valley, whose northern limits we shall presently find clearly defined. The southern limits are not so clear. They may, and probably do, coincide with the deltoid region in which the Indus debouches into the sea.

From here onward this inscription contains for us a number of very distinct surprises. It may be that No. 25, which now follows India is the last altogether, it is certainly in its larger aspect the last of the greater conquests of Shahpuhr eastward. Wholly illegible in SasMP and very uncertain in the Greek, we have with clarity that makes the reading safe beyond the shadow of a doubt in ArsParth *Kvšnxštr*, Kūshānshahr, the Kushan empire. For the Greek, Cameron's copy indicates as legible immediately following *Indian* only *ka*; the writer feels quite certain of something more, at least as far as *ka[i Kous . . .]*. At one time his notes registered what his eyes then believed to have seen as *ka[i Koussan . . .]*. We do not know the exact Greek form here used with any degree of certainty beyond *Kous . . .*. We do not know the exact number of letter spaces, since the Greek particularly makes many false starts on poor surface, only to repeat them farther on by way of correction on harder surface. That Parthian *-xštr* is represented in the Greek by some form of *ethnos* is absolutely certain. The visible remnants, though poor, may be read as *Koussanēnōn ethnos*. This would leave just about sufficient room, assuming every space to be filled without a hitch, for [(h)eōs] before perfectly legible *emprosthen Paskibourōn*, which is a perfectly correct and easily intelligible translation of ArsParth *xnprxš cL Pškbvr*, "all the way forward to Peshawar."

Herr Henning rightly marked this writer's former tentative reading of a badly defaced word lower down on the sadly eroded surface of SasMP as Kaspatyros (Kaspapyros), *AJSL*, LIII, No. 2 (January, 1937), 137 ff., with an exclamation point, *BSOS*, IX, Part IV (1939), 842, note 4. Now the shoe

is on the other foot. Here in this very same inscription, as the southernmost limit of the Kushan empire, as in about A.D. 250 it was merged and incorporated in Shahpuhr's new Eranshahr, appears what seems to be one of the oldest clearly datable mentions of Peshawar in a great historical inscription, perhaps the oldest. This cannot have been far from the spot at which Skylax the Karyandite embarked on his voyage for Darius the Great, a voyage to explore the Indus to its mouth and the sea into which it debouches (Herodotus iv. 44). The name of the starting-point is given by Herodotus, both in the passage noted and in iii. 102 as Kaspatyros. Hecataeus, in a little fragment, quoted in a condensation by the grammarian Hermolaos of a voluminous geographical work written in the seventh century A.D. by the mathematician and astronomer Stephen of Byzantium, calls this same town Kaspapyros. This town has been sought by modern scholars in a variety of places, at Kabul, near Peshawar, and at Multan. Multan is favored by Ernst Herzfeld (first and most extensively in *AMI*, I, 94, in a long footnote extending from p. 93 to p. 95), and, as frequently, Herzfeld's presentation of his case is most attractive. His reference to al-Bērūnī is, as frequently, left in this general form, though it would have been just as easy to save the time of other scholars by stating that the proof text occurs in Bērūnī's *India*, Arabic text, page 149, line 8; English translation, II, 298. Herzfeld may be right as well as brilliant in this instance. On the other hand, neither the text of Herodotus nor that of Hecataeus (in the transmission noted) is as assured and as reassuring as Herzfeld and his teacher, Marquart (*Untersuchungen zur Gesch. von Eran*, II, 246, n. 3), blandly assume. The name of Peshawar, as now found in our inscription for about A.D. 250 makes it at least possible that the texts of both Herodotus and Hecataeus, as we possess them, are in error, and that Skylax himself wrote Paskapyros, which would not be bad older Greek for our Paskibourōn. If that were so, then that ancient Greek would be the earliest safely datable mention of Peshawar in history.

We need not insist too strenuously upon this suggestion, made as an aside. The important thing is that the farthest southern limit of the Kushan empire in our inscription clearly is Peshawar, which at the same time gives us the northern boundary of India, as Shahpuhr understood it. We now proceed quite evidently to the other, the northern end of the Kushan empire. This is introduced by a shortened form of our compound preposition, one which gave Herzfeld so much trouble (*Paikuli, Glossary*, p. 191, No. 401), and with this reads: *W xn cL = han-ō*, "and all the way to," *Kaš Svqđ W Šašs[tn] <grvkn>*, for which the Greek has, all clearly legible: *kai (h)eōs Kas Sōdikēnēs kai* (LINE 5) *Tsatsēnēs orōn*. The Greek shows clearly that in the Parthian we must read *Kaš*, not *Kač*, but *Čač*, not *Šaš*, and this is important. *Kaš* is of the northern section of the Kushan empire. It cannot, therefore, refer to Cutch, Kacch, in India, which, like Surat, is too far southeast anyway. Kashmir in itself might be possible, though it is a bit far to the east of Peshawar and in difficult mountain territory. It is excluded by two factors. On the

one hand, it belongs, if at all in A.D. 250, to the southern section of the Kushan empire; on the other, it would, at least, have to be Kač (Pelliot, *Tokharien et Koutcheen*, *JAS*, CCXXIV [1934], 26, in n. 2 from p. 25). It is hardly necessary to canvass other possibilities, all excluded by being too far east or south. The triad of territories, here mentioned together as constituting the northern half of the Kushan empire, belong together. Kaš is the southwestern half of Transoxiana, which we might call Bokhara (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, and Minorsky, *Hudūd al-Ālam*, and others on the place and region called *Kish*, *Kišš*, and the like, and so indexed). Sogd, Sōdikene, is in the main the northwesterly, Samarkand half of the same territory. Čač or Čačastān, Tsatsene, is to us, by Turkish popular etymology, Tashkend, Tashkent. The mountains are the Aksai, Urtaktau, Karatau, and Alexandrovski ranges. Up to this point we are quite safe in our readings and identifications. In Manichean literature it is clear that for some time after Mani's death their missions did not reach beyond the Oxus, as the excellent old fragment, Andreas-Henning, *MirMan*, III, b, shows. The only mention of the Kushan empire thus far found in the extant Manichean remnants is late and confused, the Kushan empire having passed out of existence. This was not recognized by Henning, who, therefore, misunderstood it in Andreas-Henning, *MirMan*, II, 12 (=303), the proper solution being then found by Schaeder and published in his *Iranica*, pages 74 ff., though our inscription later on indicates that the Manichean idea of the western limits of the Kushan empire in its heyday may not have been altogether wrong.

The countries thus far named as constituting Shahpuhr's empire are twenty-five, if we count the Kushan empire as one great whole including the minor countries last named, or twenty-eight, if we reckon the last three as separate entities. This may be Shahpuhr's list in its entirety. What now follows is too much broken in essential spots, especially in the first of the two phrases of which it is apparently made up, to be entirely clear. As has been indicated, immediately after Čačs . . the ArsParth is badly eroded for a space. After what must by the Greek be the word for "mountains" we can indeed make out clearly enough the circle which is so frequently used for *W*, *ud*, "and." This is supported by the Greek, which continues with perfect legibility as far as: *kai ex ekeinou tou merous tēs thalassēs*, and then in its turn leaves us maddeningly in the lurch. From the Greek we are led to expect after the *W*, noted above as the last legible Parthian at this point a *MN*, but this cannot be made out on the photograph. All that can thus far be said with safety concerning the ArsParth here is, that, beginning five or six letter spaces after the *W*, we find clear and unmistakable *-n-y my(?) . . . m(?)*, after which five or six words are missing except for as yet unintelligible traces, and then we come to an evident end of a phrase or sentence with the all but perfectly legible words *ŠMH dxy(?)xštr*. Whether the . . *tēnē(?)s Sabour*, which appears in the Greek after eighteen illegible spaces intervening between it and *thalassēs*, belongs to the preceding or to the following phrase, cannot

be said definitely. We seem to be capping the eastern border column of the empire, as the western was capped in the Caucasus region. The sea referred to in this region would almost certainly have to be the Caspian. The curious *Dahyšahr* (?), with which *ArsParth* closes the phrase, points in the same direction; it seems to be a name conferred upon a region by Shahpuhr; to attain this dignity it was probably larger than the section later known as Dahistan (Markwart-Messina, *Catalogue*, pp. 12 and 53 ff., § 17; Minorsky, *Hudūd al-Ālam*, pp. 385 f., s.v. "Dihistan") and may, to connect with Tashkent-Ferghana without having to cross terrible deserts, have included Khorazmia-Khwarizm-Khiva and the lower course of the Jaxartes-Syr Darya. Before the *Sabour* of the Greek, which belongs in all probability to the statement about Hormizd-Ardashir after the *W* in *ArsParth*, the Greek may be read [ai]tēnēs. This seems to correspond to *ArsParth* *Dxy?xštr* just before the *W* and may perhaps be supplemented <D>[ai]tēnēs. If this is so, then Greek seems to have summed up the Parthian phrase preceding the *W* in a subordinate clause or participial phrase beginning with its "from that part of the sea." The *ŠMH* in *ArsParth* just before *Dahixšatr* must refer to a preceding name, which may be that of a man, city, province, river, mountain, or the like. If the Greek, instead of Parthian *W* with a preceding independent clause, has really a dependent clause or participial phrase, perhaps a genitive absolute, then this would seem to contain the reason for Shahpuhr's conferring a special title or epithet on Hormizd-Ardashir. In the early part of Shahpuhr's reign Tabari (Nöldeke, *Tabari*, p. 45) places Hormizd-Ardashir in this northeastern section of the empire and ascribes to him effective activities there. Whether or not Herzfeld's readings and interpretations and deductions from coins in this connection (*Paikuli*, I, 38, 41, 46 ff.) are correct, it is possible that Hormizd-Ardashir was heroically active in this region early in Shahpuhr's reign; that this made him a favorite with Shahpuhr and led to his appointment as crown prince with the title "Great King of the Armenians"; and that the missing words in this concluding statement on the provinces and kingdoms of Shahpuhr's *Ērānshahr* referred to these activities, which incorporated solidly in the empire the lands from the sea (Aral?) to Dahistan. If the word preceding *ŠMH* in *ArsParth* was the name of a man, that might be Varahran, apparently Shahpuhr's eldest son, not favored with a name fire, but named later on as *Gīlān-shāh*; but this is most unlikely. All this is an uncertain construction, but it is the best that can at present be done with this fragmentary phrase. If it is correct, then we would have here, according as we may have reckoned previously, either a twenty-sixth or a twenty-ninth kingdom to top off Shahpuhr's great empire.

The phrase following this is somewhat better preserved, but it too has difficulties all its own. Beginning with *ArsParth* we find for the most part perfect legibility, except for a very small bit, which is poorly or not at all visible. We read: *W DRDWm=BDWm* (or *BDwm*) *Axvrmzd Ar* (then, continuing on the evidently poor surface of the next stone, very near to the

corner pilaster) [*txštr*]. Over *Artxštr* between the second and the first line, there is inserted in the same fashion: *Šxy* (then again on the next stone) *pvr*. . . . The sentence ends in the first word of line 3: *ŠMH*, *nām*, "name." Within this sentence lies the legible beginning of SasMP, line 4, but so that it is of no help to us: *Ꝥxrmzd[artxštr-y(?) šxp] <pvr . . . >*. In the Greek, after *Sabour*, noted above, there follow fifteen illegible spaces ending in [*kal*]*esamen* (*H*)*ōrmisdarta<x>ar*. Since in both Iranian texts the name Shahpuhr-Sabour does certainly occur here in the second phrase, while there is no evidence of its occurrence in the first, it is probable that the Sabour noted, with the word preceding it, in the Greek also belong to the second phrase. The whole phrase seems clearly to finish off the detailed story of empire with the note that, after its completion, Shahpuhr conferred upon his son and heir Hormizd-Ardashir an honorific title or epithet, Shahpuhr-shnum, or the like; all three versions, however, are defective at the crucial place, and we do not know what the epithet or title was.

After this the end of this important section is clear enough at least to gather its general import and much of its detail. Briefly, in terms that call attention to the greatness of the achievement, Shahpuhr sums up all that has been detailed in the section. ArsParth, except for one tantalizing bad spot, is very clear through this first third or fourth of line 3: *W ZNH awnt xštr W xštrdr W ptykvspn xrv LN ptybaz W RDY(?)N(?)?? XQ >YMWt XWYN*. The Greek has: *kai tauta ta tosaute ethnē* (LINE 6) *kai tous despotas tōn ethnōn tōn ek pantos merous pantas (h)ēmein* (Cameron: (*h*)*ēmōn*), fifteen illegible spaces, the last of which Cameron is disposed to read, doubtfully, as *gamma*, while to my eyes on the photograph it looks more like *eian* [*e(?)s(?)tēsan(?)*] The Greek deals curiously with the *Šahrdār ud Patikōspān*, but evidently in such fashion as to bring out the sense which these words conveyed to the men at Shahpuhr's court. Following more closely the ArsParth we may render: "And these so many kingdoms and Kingdom holders (rulerships) and guardians of regions (principalities) all to us tributary and subject(?) had become." The Parthian for "subject(?)" is as yet very uncertain; at present it looks to my eyes most like the Semitic mask indicated with an illegible Parthian ending; the Parthian may be *nidraxt* or another word meaning "subject, subjected" or the like. In the Greek it is difficult to tell where the end of the clause lies. Its *estēsan* seems to correspond to Parthian *ēštūt*, an evidently overliteral translation, corresponding in sound as well as in meaning to the Iranian. Whether the Greek went so far as to render *ahēnt* by *ēsan* or some other form of the copula or auxiliary cannot be made out on the photograph; on general principles this may be doubted, the greater probability being that they used some tense form of *histēmi*, alone or compounded with a preposition. The twelve spaces after . . . *tēsan* may well have contained something else to correspond to the following Parthian.

In the Parthian this is clearly and definitely the end of a well-defined sec-

tion, just as the following words clearly open a new section, though they begin with "And": *W 3MT n3všt pty xštr XQ 3YMWt XWYm, Gvrtnyvs Kysr*, etc., "And when first we (or "I") came to the throne of empire, Gordianus Caesar" attacked Assyria. In the Greek what is left of this becomes legible after the twelve eroded spaces with *(h)opōs epi tēn basilian tōn ethnōn estēmen, Gordianos Kaisar*, with which its line 6 comes to an end. To judge from the Parthian *hopōs* must have been preceded at least by *kai* and possibly by some form to correspond to "first." This, with possibly some addition or change in reading in the preceding verbal ending, will be amply sufficient to fill the gap!

Herewith we have before us the important second section of Shahpuhr's inscriptional autobiography, fully as clear throughout, in part of greater clarity and more transparent construction, and very nearly as complete as is the same section in Darius' Behistun in any form in which we possess it.

II. SHAHPUHR'S WARS

At the end of the section on Shahpuhr's kingdoms it was necessary to say something briefly about the following section in order to mark off as clearly as possible the end of one section and the beginning of another in this great inscription. We entitle this section—actually the third if the introduction is counted as the first, but in this publication the second—"Shahpuhr's Wars," both because that clearly describes its contents and because it brings out the parallelism in the construction of this inscription on the foundation of the Sasanian Persian empire and the great Behistun inscription, in which Darius sets up a memorial for the true foundation—in some respects a refoundation—of the Achaemenian Persian empire. The parallelism is not absolute. For Darius the greatest importance attached to the internal wars by which he brought the empire into his own and his dynasty's power and established peaceful law and order in his lands, while the unsuccessful thrust into Europe and all other matters referring to conquest and extension of boundaries are passed over in silence. To Shahpuhr whatever internal troubles he may have had seemed unimportant, his great successes against Rome loomed largest, and before these even the destruction and absorption of the Kushan empire from Tashkent to Peshawar paled into the insignificance of that final phrase about the subjection of many other peoples and the accomplishment of many other deeds, all notable but unnamed, with which both he and Darius in similar fashion bring their lapidary accounts to a close.

It will presently appear more clearly that Shahpuhr views his wars with the Romans as three fairly distinct campaigns. In the first, near the beginning of his reign, the Roman Caesars who are his opponents are named: Gordianus (III) as the aggressor who is defeated and killed, and Philippus (Arabs) as the one who concluded the not very favorable peace. For the second the Caesar remains nameless, therefore probably personally not present. No date is mentioned, this inscription merely leaving us somewhere between Gordian's death and the beginning of Philipp's reign, on the one hand, and the defeat of

Valerian, on the other. The most definite and likely date known to this writer is the 563 Seleucid = A.D. 251/2, which Nöldeke (*Tabari*, p. 31, n. 3) adduces from an anonymous Syriac writer. This corresponds fairly well with the eleventh year of Shahpuhr's reign, named by Tabari and Eutychius-Sa'id (Nöldeke, *ibid.*) for an action by Shahpuhr in a westward direction, which may well be in essence identical with the second campaign (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 412 ff.). The Syriac text quoted by Nöldeke from Land's *Anecdota Syriaca*, I, 18, itself for the most part translated from the Arabic, places in the same year barbarian, i.e., Gothic, incursions over the Danube and thus connects these eastern events with Roman affairs in the West. These are the disturbed and disordered years between the death of Decius and the accession of Valerian, when two Galli and Aemilianus become Caesars and are assassinated within the space of two years. One may well forgive Shahpuhr for not naming his Caesar and wonder, just who, if anyone, disturbed the peace of Armenia for "Caesar" at that particular time. Was it perchance a Roman general or governor in those farthest eastern regions on his own, seeking fame, means, and an enthusiastic army to secure the throne for himself? That question may safely be left for our excellent historian of Greek and Roman antiquity, Jakob A. O. Larsen, to ponder. We move on to name the third campaign, in which the Caesar is the unlucky Valerian.

A. DEFENSE AGAINST ROMAN AGGRESSION

As now this subsection is taken up in detail, attention may first be called to the fact that some improvement in the reading of the Greek at the very beginning can be registered. Best preserved, here as in most other places, though also in spots uncertain, is the ArsParth original, which begins with word 17 in line 3, counting *W*, "and," a separate word, as written, and runs well past the middle of line 4. Its text, so far as at present legible to this writer's eyes, must be presented first.

W > *MT* *nxvšt pty xštr XQ* > *YMWt XWYm Gvrtnyvs Kysr MN xmk PRvm Gvt W Grman-y xštr zavr-y xngvšn-y* < *BDt W* < *L* *Asvrstn apr Aryan xštr W LN* > < *TY* > *t W pty Asvrstn . . . [b?] . . . [Mšy?]kymn RBA znbk Y(N?)XWt Gvrtnyvs* (LINE 4) *Kysr QTLt PRvmyn zavr XWBWDt W PRvmyn Plypvs Kysr* < *BDt W Plypvs Kysr LN* < *L nyvdstyk* (the letter forms of this word may be differently read; we note here only that the final letter may be *b* or *r*) > *TYt W gyanDMH dynr IIIIC* > *LPYN* < *LYN Y(N?)NTNt pty baz XQ* > *YMWt W LN Mšykmn B-krt-y Prgvz-Šxypvzr ŠMH XQ* > *YMWt*.

The Greek is more extensively damaged than ArsParth, but with the help of the latter it can now be read with a fair degree of certainty, beginning at a little past the middle of line 6:

< *kai* > [otan prōtō]s epi tēn basilian tōn ethnōn estēmen Gordianos Kaisar [l. 7] apo pasēs tēs Rōmaiōn archēs Gouththōn te kai Germanōn ethnōn [dynamin] .[k] [e]n kai [eis tēn Assyrian epi to] tōn Arianōn ethnōs kai ēmas epēlthen kai eis tous orous (l. 8) tēs Assyrias en tē Mēsichisē ex

enantias polemos megas gegonen kai [Gordianos Kaisar epa]nērē k[ai ēmeis tēn stratei]an tōn Rōmaiōn anēlōsamen kai oi Rōmaioi Philippon (l. 9) Kaisara anēgoreusan kai Philippos o Kaisar eis paraklēsin ēlthen kai tōn [philōn ton (crowded; *t* over a small *o*?) bio]n antitein[ōn pentēkosia(s?) cheiliada(!)] dēnariōn ēmein edoto kai eis phorous ēmein estē (l. 10) kai ēmeis Misichēn dia touto Pērōs-Sabour epōnomasamen.

The sorry remnants of SasMP in this section can barely be identified with any degree of certainty. The beginning of its line 5 seems to correspond to ArsParth, line 3, words 41 ff., to be read: *štry W[LNH]*, after which one probably deceives one's self in believing that for the third or fourth word thereafter one sees faint traces of *Asvrstan*. The beginning of line 6 seems to correspond to the curious words 29 ff., in ArsParth, line 4, to be read: *XNA krty P[ryvz] <Šxpvxry> [ŠM YK] <WYMWnt>*. This is followed by a remnant of the opening words on the second campaign: *[WKy]sl=r*.

Manifestly the sense of the paragraph can easily be rendered into English, even though a number of words and readings remain, at least to this transliterator up to the moment of this writing, somewhat uncertain. Explanatory remarks are definitely called for. It is worthy of note that the Semitic mask for *ut, ud*, "and," transliterated *W*, is in ArsParth almost always distinct in form (a complete circle) from Aryan *v* (a fishhook) and almost always separated from the following word in writing. It is, indeed, not rarely attached to the preceding word, as if in Aryan it were enclitic, instead of proclitic, as the Semitic writing makes it. *ᵐMT* in ArsParth is *kad*, *d* probably fricative. It must not be confused, as Herzfeld does in *Paikuli, Glossary*, page 137, No. 96, with the relative *ky, kē*, Semitic mask *MNW*, nor with *ᵐYMT, kad*, thus far found only in MP; Tedesco, *MO*, XV (1921), 194, § 6, and 239, § 30, states the essential facts, though his etymologizing is unnecessarily complicated and in part unintelligible to this writer as against Nyberg (*Hb., Gloss.*, p. 117). *XQ ᵐYMWt* is the Parthian form and writing for the well-known MP *YKWYMWnt*; the Parthian is not *ēstēt*, as Herzfeld seems to read in *Paikuli, Glossary*, page 192, Nos. 411 and 412, but *ištāt*, and the meaning is rarely equivalent to our "stand," but for the most part simply "to be, come to be" (Ghilain, *Essai*, pp. 78 f., under the root *stā*), in spite of the Semitic mask; the etymological meaning of the Iranian, and the euphuistic Greek translation. *XWYm* is not, as in Herzfeld (*Paik., Gloss.*, p. 184, Nos. 359 and 360, and on p. 56), *hom*, but *ahēm* or *hēm* (Ghilain, pp. 46 and 113). *MN* is *až* or *ač*. *LN* is *amāh* or *amā*. *ᵐBDt*, oddly written as usual, is, of course, *kirt*; the Greek translation varies, using more specific verbs. *ᵐTYt*, in the first occurrence slightly uncertain, is in Parthian not *āmat* (Herzfeld, *Paik., Gloss.*, p. 148, No. 169), but *āgat* (Tedesco, § 26a, pp. 229 ff.; Ghilain, p. 47). *RBA*, oddly written so as to look like *KRA*, is made certain by Greek *megas*; the proper pronunciation of *vzrk, vzrg*, in archaizing ArsParth may be left to professed linguists. *Būt* offers a problem; the letter forms may be read, with scarcely any preponderance on either side, *YXWt* or *NXWt*, Semitic authority for the

latter to be found in Margolis, *Babylonian Talmud Grammar*, pages 106* and 36, § 28d; Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, §§ 166 and 196; Dalman, *Arm. Gr.*, § 61, 1e; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, §§ 158, C, and 183, (8); *NHW* would be a good plural exactly like its MP equivalent *YXWWN*. The question of a prefix *N* instead of *Y* in *ArsParth* imperfect masks has scarcely been broached, let alone solved; it cannot be solved offhand; it is recommended as a problem to Aramaists. *QTLt* is very probably *ōžat* (Ghilain, p. 55, root *žan*). The Semitic form and meaning of *XWBDWt* is transparent; for the Parthian there are several possibilities with no possibility of certainty in choice visible to the eye of this writer; *abnašt*, *franašt*, *vinašt* (Ghilain, p. 69, clearly the first *nas-*, Bthl, *AirWb*, col. 1055, not the second, col. 1056); *vikant*, *vigand* (Ghilain, p. 71); and *padruft* (Ghilain, p. 65) are offered for choice in this order. *GyanDMH* is unusual, but with the Greek (*bion?* *zōēn*?) *antiteinein* transparent; Parthian for *DMH* is probably *vahāk* (Horn, *GnpEt*, No. 242, with Hübschmann, *PSt*, p. 32, and *Arm. Gr.*, p. 434, No. 94; Henning, *MBBb*, pp. 116 and 136; A-H, *MirMan*, II, 52 [343]), though *arž* (Bthl, *ZsasR*, III, 12) is possible. ^o*LPYN* is, naturally, *hazār*. Is ^c*LYN*, also in Herzfeld's *Paik.*, *Gloss.*, No. 765, simply *amāh*, used as oblique case, or *ō amāh*, as the MP in *Paik.* indicates? *YNTNt*, with the *Y* attached to final *N* of ^c*LYN*, is here distinctly more probable than *NNTNt*; Parthian, like MP, is *dāt*. *B-krt-y* corresponds to Greek *dia touto* and, probably, to SasMP *XNA krt̄y*, *ēt*, *ēd*, *ē kart* (cf. A-H, *MirMan*, II, 19[310], T III D 278 II, V, l. 3: *ač ēd kird*); Parthian *andar*, if that be the reading, is odd, but hardly more so than causal use of Semitic *B*. *ŠMH* is, of course, *nām*.

Other difficulties which deserve notice are the following. *Xmk* must not be read *xmb*. *PRvm* and *PRvmyn* for "Rome" and "Romans" cannot, after Schaefer's solution of Fu-lin (*Iranica*, *AGWGött*, Ph-h Kl, 3. Folge, No. 10 [1934], pp. 24 ff.) be accounted a real difficulty. *Xngvšn* (-y?), for which both Greek and SasMP are lacking, must in the context with the following *kirt* mean "assembled, mustered," perhaps "mustered hastily"; the writer sees no way, by which this might be connected with *žam*, *žām*, *gaf* (Ghilain, pp. 72 f.), which is the root one might expect; the first, second, or even the third ("a calling-together") *gav-* in Bthl, *AirWb*, column 504, all offer etymological possibilities for *hangavišn*, "assembly, muster." The writing of *RBA-znbk* is noteworthy; the tail of *A* is turned up, and from that point a downstroke with a sharp break to the left writes the following *z*; this seems to be a mannerism of the scribe Ahurmazd and does not always indicate close connection between two words thus tied together. *Znbk*, "strife, combat, war," is found as *z(a)mb(a)g* in Turfan Parthian (A-H, *MirMan*, III, 64[909]), and, exactly as here, in *Paikuli*, Parthian line 13, word 2, where Herzfeld failed (*Gloss.*, p. 183, No. 346) to solve it by a very wide margin; for Avestan one may consult Bthl, *AirWb*, column 1666, *zamb-*; the word may actually be extant in Modern Persian poetry as *zanbah*, if the correct reading of the verse quoted under this word by Vullers from Shams-i-Fakhri through the Frahang-

i-Shuūri can be ascertained. Between *Asvrstn* and [*Mšy*]ky(or z?)mn (Greek here: *Mēsichisē*) must lie the words corresponding to the mountains over against the town mentioned in the Greek. For "mountains" one should expect, as everywhere else, *k(g)rvkn*. For *ex enantias* the following *B* suggests a Semitic mask, perhaps *BANP* (or *PP*) *WHY*, for which Parthian may be *až abdar*, *až any agōč*, or *ač patkās*, or the like. The meaning probably is beyond the Tigris, for this *Pērōz-Shābūr*, which seems to have lost its old name *M(y)šykmn*, *Mēsichisē*, *Misichē*, completely, can hardly be Anbar on the Euphrates, but must, by the description of Gordian's point of attack in mountainous Assyria, be modern *Faysābūr*, about a hundred and fifty miles north of Mosul. For this one may conveniently see Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, page 93, and the excellent map in Oppenheim's *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf*, Volume II, between 42° and 43° east of Greenwich and just above the thirty-seventh degree north; Oppenheim's text (p. 158) is meager and his etymology untenable, though possibly popular. The position between mountains, most fully described in Hoffmann, *Syr. Akt. pers. Märt.*, pages 213 ff., is clearly to be seen on the map. *Nyvdstyk* (or *-styb*) is translated by Greek *paraklēsin*; as has been noted in the text, the reading of the Parthian offers a greater number of possibilities, than here indicated; the reading given has been chosen, because later *nyvdpt* occurs as a title, rendered in Greek by *deipnoklētor* and in SasMP by *adnīk*; in spite of some difference in writing this is, therefore, best explained as a Western, royal Parthian equivalent or close relative of Northeastern *nwystg*, "invited," *nwydg*, "invitation," treated by Henning in his *List* (*BSOS*, IX, 1 [1937], 85); *paraklēsis* is a "summons" or an "exhortation," but it may also be a "supplication," which is a very suitable meaning here; with other readings other derivations, from *kas* (Ghilain, p. 51) or *rād* (Ghilain, p. 60), may be possible, none of which seems as good and fitting as the one here adopted. This is as far as this writer can at present carry a fairly satisfactory explanation of a text, whose meaning is pretty clear and which can safely be rendered in English:

"When first I was come to the imperial throne, Gordian Caesar assembled a force of Goths and Germans from all of Rome (the Roman dominion) and made an inroad into Assyria against the Aryan empire and us, and there was a great battle in the Assyrian mountains opposite Mishikaman. Gordian Caesar was killed, the Roman army was annihilated, and the Romans made (proclaimed) Philipp Caesar. Then Philipp Caesar came to us asking for terms and, having given us 500,000 denar as ransom for the life (of his friends), became tributary to us. We, in turn, in commemoration of this deed, conferred upon Mishikaman (*Misichē*) the name *Pērōz Shāhpuhr* (*Shahpuhr's Victory*)."

This is clearly the end of the first phase or campaign in Shahpuhr's wars with Rome. It was fought on what Shahpuhr considered his ancestral territory, as will presently appear, and it was to Shahpuhr's mind a successful defense against unprovoked, aggressive Roman attack and attempt at conquests

beyond recognized Roman borders. It ended in a complete defeat of the Roman army with the death of its Caesar on the field of battle, Philipp's surrender at discretion, the payment of a stiff ransom not miscalled reparations, and the Roman Empire on the eve of its thousandth anniversary tributary on its eastern boundary to its new rival world-empire Iranshahr. The initiation of the next campaign makes it clear that this eastern boundary of Rome was on the western side of whatever was then defined as Armenia, that Armenia, therefore, had been ceded by Philipp to Shahpuhr. There is no indication of treason on the part of Philipp; nor of his having been at fault in the defeat; nor of any particular weakness shown by him in concluding peace on the best terms possible, when no other recourse was open to him; nor of his having ceded Nisibis; least of all of his having had a hand in the death of Gordian, who is here clearly represented as having fallen in open battle.

B. PERSIA'S DEFENSE BY OFFENSE

The second campaign is a very different matter. Its probable date, not even hinted at here, has been discussed above. If Shahpuhr's statement is correct, as far as it goes, the initiation, or at least the cause, of the war lies again with the Romans; but Shahpuhr's words sound like the pretext of a king who is picking a quarrel. There is again one great, decisive battle issuing in the rout of the Roman army and this time followed by a destructive raid, perhaps rather a manifold plundering expedition with divided forces than a single raid by a compact army, well into Roman territory to the shores of the Mediterranean, on the one hand, and into Roman Cappadocia in the north, on the other. The capture and sacking of cities and garrison towns or castles must have begun before the battle and well to the east of its site. The first town mentioned as sacked is Anath, considerably eastward of the longitude of Nisibis, but well south of it on the Euphrates. There, at least, the Roman frontier was distinctly to the east of Nisibis. Thence what is evidently the march of a great army, taking castles and garrison towns on its way, leads right up the Euphrates until we come to Barbalissus, and that looks like the initiation of a war on the part of the Persians, whatever reasons the Romans may have given them for it. The battle is fought at Barbalissus, deep in Roman territory, and the Roman army is clearly on the defensive. Of this Roman army Shahpuhr does not know, in any case does not state, the composition, and that seems to mean that this was not an army mustered for a vigorous offense, but simply the regular Roman forces stationed in the East and assembled for the best defense possible against a powerful offensive thrust. That helps to explain the plight of Roman territory after the defeat of this army. The first great defeat of the Romans was not followed by raids and the sacking of great cities within the Roman frontiers. That may have been due in part, as some early historians suggest, to the fact that the Persian king in the early part of his reign was busy elsewhere, in Kushan lands or in the Caucasus regions. It must probably also be ascribed in part to the fact, that,

after all, by Philipp's peace treaty Roman defenses on the eastern border were not so completely broken down as they were this time and to an even greater degree and extent after Valerian's disaster. Another indication that these were simply local garrisons hastily gathered together may perhaps be found in the fact that not only is no Caesar's name given but no Roman personal name whatever is mentioned. We are not told who the Roman general was. Perhaps Shahpuhr deigned to mention by name only those of his foes who were his royal peers. For the historian of ancient Rome, however, this is an intriguing problem, not without importance. For any attempt at its solution this writer at present has at his disposal neither the time nor the means.

The Parthian text, as the original in everything except Greek city-names and as the most complete, will lead here and throughout. Greek and SasMP follow in that order.

W Kysr TWB MKBDWt(!) <L Armn kynš(č) <BDt <W LN> ap<r> PRvmyn xštr vnššt XWYm W PRvmyn zavr(-y?) 60,000 B-Bybalšy [LINE 5] QTLt W Asvrya (or final n-y) xštr W MH apr Asvrya(n-y?) xštr prybr N(Y?)XWt xmk atrvxt avryn W vrtыз <BDt W >XDt pty LXW XD zavr MN PRvmyn-y xštr BYRTA W MXWZA

In the list of names of cities and castles which now follows a number is supplied for each name, though there are none in the texts. The constantly reiterated phrase after each name, "city with suburbs" or "surrounding territory on all sides," the word "city" being omitted after the castles, is given for illustration with Nos. 1 and 2 and thereafter omitted. There is no break in the text, as it proceeds after the last word transliterated above:

(1) *Ant-y MXWZA <M prybr xmkvs-y* (2) *BYRT Ar(or k)vpn <M prybr xmkvs-y* (3) *BYRT Asvrkn* (4) *[S]vra* (5) *Bybalš* (6) *Mnbvk* (LINE 6) (7) *Xrp* (8) *Knšra-y* (9) *Apvmya* (10) *Rapvs* (or *Rnyvps*) (11) *Zvma* (12) *>Vrx(?)ay* (The middle letter is damaged, perhaps by an attempt at correction. As it stands one may see in it a second exaggerated *r*, as the Greek seems to do, an exaggerated *n*, or a *k*. The last is the most probable, perhaps first written after the manner in which Jews in the Aramaic square character commonly called "Hebrew" and TurfanMP in old Syriac characters write *kh*, often with a dot as against simple *k*, to distinguish it from *h*, for which *x* is used. The *k* seems partially and imperfectly chipped away to make room for a little, not very clear or perfect, *x*. The letter falls into a naturally imperfect streak in the stone, and the idea of an attempted correction may be a delusion; but, if this is not Urhay-Urfa-Edessa, which fits fairly well into the context, it must remain unidentified.) (13) *Gndrvs* (14) *Armaš(ž?)* (15) *Sylvkya* (16) *Andyvk* (LINE 7) (17) *Kyrvs* (18) *>XRN Sylvkya* (19) *Alyxsndrya* (final *a* poor, in a fault in the stone) (20) *Nykprvs-y* (21) *Syzr-y* (22) *Xmat-y* (23) *Arstvn* (24) *Dyk(=x?)vl(=r)* (25) *Dvl(=r)a-y* (26) *Dvr(=l)xv* (LINE 8) (27) *Krky(?)sya* (28) *Grmnvs* (29) *Btnan* (30) *Xanr-y B-Kptkya* (31) *Satr(=l)-y* (32) *Dvman* (33) *Ar(or d)nglya* (34) *Svš?* (35) *Švd* (or *r*)*y* (36) *Prat-y* (LINE 9) *xmysak MXWZA <M prybr xmkvs-y XXXIII III/.*

The Greek has many little defects which will not be marked here, when the reading is practically certain. The text is again presented in transcription.

Kai o Kaisar palin epseusato kai eis tēn Armenian adikian epoiēsen kai ēmeis epi to ethnos tōn Rōmaiōn ōr (l. 11) mēsamen kai dynamin Rōmaiōn exēkonta cheiliadas en Barbalissō anilamen kai to ethnos tēs Syrias kai o[sa ep aultēn ethnē kai perichōroi ēsan panta ekausamen kai ērēmō (l. 12) samen kai ektratēsamen kai(!) en ekeinē tē mia agōgē apo tou ethnous Rōmaiōn kastellous te kai poleis (1) Anathan polin syn tē perichōrō (2) BIRTHAN Aspōrakou syn tē perichōrō¹ (l. 13) (3) Souran (4) Barbalisson (5) Ierapolin (6) <Ber>[roi]lan (7) Chalkida (8) Apaimian (l. 14) (9) Rephanean (10) Zeugma (11) Ouri(or r)[n?] (12) Gindaron (13) Larmenaza (l. 15) (14) Seleukian (15) Antiochian (16) [Ky]rron (17) Allē(?)n Seleukian (18) Alexandrian (l. 16) (19) Neikopolin (20) Sinzara (21) Ch(?)amath(in?) (22) Aristian (23) Dichōr (l. 17) (24) Dolichēn (25) Douran (26) Korkousiōna (27) Germaneikian (28) Batnan (29) Chanar (l. 18) Kai tēs Kappadokias (30) Satala (31) Doman? (32) A(?)rtangil(on?) (33) Souisan (or Soussan) (34) Souida (l. 19) (35) Phreata Omou poleis triakonta epta (syn tais perichōrois).

Of SasMP nothing like a complete, continuous text can be presented without much artificial reconstruction, which, in lacunae much smaller than these and in languages much better known than SasMP under Shahpuhr I, has proven practically always extremely hazardous and often fallacious. It is manifest, even with what little we now have, that, quite apart from the use or nonuse of Semitic masks, both ArsParth and SasMP in early Sasanian court circles in the Southwest differed considerably in vocabulary and orthography from Parthian and Persian used in Buddhist, Christian, and Manichean communities in the Far Northwest. True, we have some shreds, partly translated into Parthian, which probably go back to Mani himself, who knew considerable Persian, but no Parthian, and moved in royal Sasanian society, unless one doubts early Manichean statements to this effect, for which there is no good reason in the time before Kartīr's establishment and organization of the Zoroastrian state church under the first Varahrans. There is also at least one old, vivid fragment connected with Mar Ammo, who knew the Parthian used in Aparshahr and was for that reason chosen to be Mani's missionary there and may have enjoyed the patronage of a royal Sasanian prince in those regions, though that is by no means as certain as the unsafe but dogmatic constructions of Herzfeld from a few uncertain coins make it seem. The greater part of the Turfan documents is considerably later, when Manicheans, Christians, and Buddhists were at best tolerated in an empire definitely become Zoroastrian with a developed priesthood, sacred book, and orthodoxy of its own. Buddhists and Christians, and particularly the Manicheans, like the Druzes, except for non-Persian, Uigur-Turkish states, developed a separatistic life and language of their own, especially apparent in the Sogdian.

¹ The recurrent phrase, as in (1), is hereafter omitted. Anyone can see that Greek omits Parthian (2), that its (24) and (25) invert Parthian (25) and (26), and that it uses Greek names, where it knows them for the Semiticizing forms of the Parthian.

Clearly the Turfan material remains useful, because alphabetically written without Semitic masks, but, if nothing else, then the great inscriptions here presented in a first edition show that for emendation here it must be used with much circumspection. Systematic study of the dialectic differences of the two great Iranian languages in regions and communities largely remote and always quite different from each other in Sasanian and early Moslem times may and, so far as this first edition is concerned, will gladly be left to professed and proficient linguists. Here a general picture and specific readings are given from the documents with such means, knowledge, and ability, as are now at the writer's command. The means include at this moment but one plaster replica of the excellent rubberoid squeezes which have been mentioned, the Parthian, of which a photographic reproduction is published with this edition. Of Shahpuhr's Middle Persian there are at hand paper squeezes, but with them it is not possible to go much, if at all, beyond the photographs. The chief means here used for SasMP are therefore still the excellent photographs, now supplemented by the fuller parallel texts. In the section now before us there begins to appear in about the last third of the lines a legible block increasing in width as one moves down. In the beginnings of these lines the remnants are small and badly damaged. From these still scanty and in part uncertain materials a fairly reliable picture of what SasMP must once have been can nevertheless be constructed, as follows:

The section begins, as has been stated, after about six words in line 6, probably exactly like the Parthian a little past the middle of its line 4, with the words $[W-Ky]sl=r$. The beginning of line 7, $krt-y$, is almost certainly the equivalent of ArsParth, line 5, word 17; what follows may be $WW=^cXDWN$, but more probably represents a different order of words in SasMP: $WPWN ZK$, *ud pat hān* (*ēvak zōr grift*). In this line, toward the end appear the first remnants of the more or less legible block. What is visible can hardly be anything other than Parthian No. 4, $\langle S \rangle [vl=ray štr] \langle dstn \rangle [MN pl=rval=ry KXDH]$. Whether SasMP had Parthian No. 2, or omitted it with the Greek, cannot be said with certainty; if the writing was not too widely spaced, there was room enough for the inclusion. At the end of this line there must have followed the SasMP equivalent of Parthian No. 5: $\langle Bybaš-y štrdstn MN \rangle$. Line 8 begins: $pl=rval=ry KXDH$. With knowledge derived from the parallels one can make out faint remnants of ArsParth No. 6: $[Mnbvk]$. In the better-preserved block we have remnants of the formula for Parthian Nos. 11 and 12, and then, as the first fully legible name, No. 13: $Gndl=rvsy$, with room for three words of the formula at the end of the line. Line 9, accordingly, begins with $KXDH$, after which we can now identify No. 14, $Al=r[mnas]$. At the other end are found the formulas for Parthian Nos. 19 and 20, but the only legible name is No. 21: $Snčl=ry$. Its formula appears to close the line. At the beginning of line 10 is a deep hole with clear remnants of a *t* on its left edge. This suits the end of ArsParth No. 22: $Xmat$; but, if this stood here, it must have been crowded. At the other end we find a

part of the formula for No. 27, then, damaged, but now recognizable, No. 28: *Gl=rmnwsy*, and, now fully legible, No. 29: *Btnan*, the line closing with No. 30 and its word for "city." After the close of its formula at the head of line 11 we can now identify remnants of *BYN Kpvtkya-y*, but not one of the six Cappadocian names appears in an even remotely legible spot, though the formula of the last two is legible enough. Fully legible *aml=r-y* is not a name but the well-known common noun for "number, total," for which *ArsParth* has *xmysak*, followed as in *ArsParth* by the full formula. At the end of the formula and running to the end of the line we can now recognize the *SasMp* equivalent of the *ArsParth* numbers: XXXIII III/.

This section also demands its own notes. *TWB* in Parthian is *bit*, as in *MP* it is *dit* (Nyberg, *Hb, Gloss.*, p. 56); *bit*, Greek *palin*, mark this as the second war, as *naxūšt*, Greek *prōtōs*, though it refers to the beginning of *Shahpuhr's* reign, also designates the Gordian-Philipp war as *Shahpuhr's* first Roman war. *MKBDWt* is, of course, an error for *MKDBWt*; that this Semitic mask, as in *MP*, stood for some form of Iranian *draug-*, though that Iranian root is curiously rare in the Parthian of Turfan, is probable; the Semitic participle with the verbal ending *t*, translated by Greek *epseusato*, may stand for *druxt* (Ghilain, p. 95), itself a participle; in any case the meaning is clear. On *LXW*, perhaps an oddly archaic Semitic *lahū*, Herzfeld's statements in *Paikuli* can hardly, after Tedesco's studies, stand unmodified; as *LY* stands for *man*, so this seems to stand simply for *hav*; a study of the pronouns in this inscription is needed but cannot here be made. *BYRTA*, in Persian *diz*, will in Parthian, as in Sogdian, be the same or nearly so; in proper names the Persians, like the Greeks and Romans, may have used the Semitic word. The old Semitic *MXWZA*, *māxōzā*, in *ArsParth* for *šahrēstān*, is interesting. *XD* is *ēv*. *M* is *ad*. The word for "attacked" in line 4 is indistinct; line 9, with the same Greek and a fragment of *SasMP*, assures *vyxšt* or *vnxšt*; *SasMP* may be *jāst*, well analyzed by Nyberg (*Hb, Gloss.*, p. 116); with *y* this would be the exact Parthian equivalent, *vi-*, "against," with *as-*, "come"; with *n* the same *vi-* would be followed by the second *nas-*, "come," both "come against, attack, invade." Destructive activities on the raids are described by three terms in *ArsParth*, for which Greek here has but two; Greek's superfluous *kai* suggests that we must supplement an omission here from the end of its line 26: *ēchmalōtisamen*. The first activity is *atruxt*, *ekausamen*; the verb compounded with "fire" must be *vaxš-*, which anyone can easily trace from Ghilain (p. 59) through Henning and Nyberg to *AirWb*; the *š* may be accounted for by the linguists. *Avyrn*, *ērēmōsamen*, once recognized, is easy and sufficiently treated by Henning, *BSOS*, IX, 4, p. 836. *Vrtyaz* is more difficult, and Henning's solution (*ibid.*, especially n. 1) is imperfect and incomplete; *ēchmalōtisamen* makes *vart-*, "captive," the first element; it is compounded with the root of *yāzīdan* (Lentz, *ZII*, IV [1926], 307, No. 185; under *yat*, Ghilain, p. 70, with references to Henning), and the compound means "handling as captives, taking captive, leading away captive, marching off captive." *Prybr*, *SasMP* *prvar*,

(*hē*) *perichōros* (*gē*), the territory roundabout a castle or city, under its protection and forming a tax district with it, corresponds exactly to Arabic *kūrah*, loaned from Greek.

Translation of what little need be translated is now very easy:

"Then again (for the second time) Caesar lied (and) did wrong (*kēn-ič*) to Armenia, and we attacked (invaded) the Roman Empire and annihilated (slaughtered) a Roman army of 60,000 at Barbalissos and burned with fire and laid waste and carried into captivity the land of Syria and all the territory roundabout Syria. And in that one campaign we took from the Roman Empire the following castles and cities."

It would be a waste of good printing space and the time of readers to repeat here even so much as the names of castles and cities, to say nothing of the oft-repeated formula. Instead a few further remarks will be of greater service. No very attentive reader is needed to note that Parthian and Greek certainly, and Persian probably, sum up their count as thirty-seven cities. The number actually found in Persian is uncertain, though probably enough it agreed with Parthian. Parthian actually has thirty-six names, and Greek, omitting Parthian No. 2, thirty-five. Inversion of the order of one pair in Greek has been noted in the text.

For maps, more or less easily attainable by most readers, one may consult Kiepert's *Atlas Antiquus*, Le Strange's *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate and Palestine under the Moslems*, the Baedekers on *Palestine and Syria* and *Konstantinopel und Kleinasien*, the two excellent maps in Oppenheim's *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf*, Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, Dussaud's *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, and the maps in the *Cambridge Ancient History*. There is, of course, no objection to the use of others, if they are handier. For a thorough and detailed geographical study, such as is not offered or attempted here, naturally much other material will have to be employed.

In the beginning we clearly follow the march of Shahpuhr's army up the Euphrates to the battlefield at Barbalissos. We start at well-known Anath on the Euphrates very near the forty-second degree east. Two castles are mentioned in Parthian, one in Greek. The first Parthian may be read Arūpan (less likely for me unidentifiable Akūpan); this might be the castle or fortification at Dura-Europos, even though the city itself is mentioned later as Dūra (No. 26, Greek 25). Then, west of the mouth of the Khabur, Kiepert shows a BIRTHA at just about the site of modern Dayr az-Zōr. This would do very well for the Bīrath Aspōrakān, if *aspōrak* is really with Justi's *Namenbuch* a close relative of Asabari, etc., "rider, cavalier, knight"; Zōr may be derived from *zāvar*, *zōr*, used in our inscription and elsewhere for a military force, which in the case of a border garrison would consist largely of "cavaliers" and might with the castle be commanded and for a while even "owned" by a "knight's son" (*aspōrakān*, *asvārakān*); the possibility that this might be a

foreign pronunciation of *vispuhrakān* is less likely. Thence, by similar forced marches, we arrive through Sūra at Barbalissos without once leaving the Euphrates. After the battle, which momentarily destroyed for this region the protection of an assembled major force of Roman soldiers and of garrisons stationed at fortified cities all in one blow, we are in a different case. We leave the river and jump north-northeast to Manbidj-Bambyce Hierapolis, perhaps still in pursuit of scattered remnants of a beaten army. Then we turn abruptly south-southeast and follow a route leading probably through Aleppo-Berrhoea (less probably Arpad), Quinnesrin-Chalkis, and Apamea to Raphanea, north-east of Homs-Emesa, a little south of 35° north. Starting once more, perhaps with another detachment, from the region of Hierapolis we strike out first north and then east, to Zeugma and, probably, Orrhoe-Edessa. Again, perhaps at Zeugma, the route divides, and with another raiding party we push southeastward on a route easily traceable on Dussaud's map, No. XIV, to Gindarus, Armenaz (Greek Larmenaz, cf. Dussaud's map, No. X, A1, and Le Strange, *Palestine*, p. 399), Seleucia ad Orontem, and back to Antioch. From here onward we hop about rather wildly on the map of northern Syria, before we get away. First we are taken on a jump back through Gindarus northeastward to Cyrrhus. Then to "another Seleucia," hardly Seleucia on the Euphrates, which is probably Zeugma itself, but much more probably Jisr ash-Shogr, Seleucobelus, Seleucia ad Belum, south of Antioch. Now we make a quick hop north from Antioch to Alexandrette and then steeply northeast to Nicopolis. Another sudden switch takes us far to the south once more on a route just east of that which had led by Apamea to Raphanea, and with this we reach Sinzar-Sheizar-Larissa, then Hama and *Arstvn*, which, in spite of the somewhat uncertain Greek, is probably Arthusa-Rastan (Le Strange, *Palestine*, pp. 61, 380, and 519 ff.; Dussaud, p. 110 and Map XIV, B3), seemingly the farthest south reached on this incursion. With Dichor the writer can do nothing, unless it be the Zekour-Zuschur listed on an English map, quoted by Dussaud (p. viii, n. 1) as on the road from Aleppo to Aintab, which is practically Doliche. An inversion is assumed in the Greek, because *Dvla-y* is read Dūra, and *Dvrzv* is read Dolexaw; lest this seem too outrageous, attention is here called to the curious use, in this Parthian not infrequent in these foreign names, of *l* for *r* and *r* for *l*, a matter which merits closer attention than can here be given to it. The Greek inversion may not be mere inadvertence. The next jump is down the Euphrates to the mouth of the Khabur with Circesium. The Greek, having omitted Bīrath Arūpan, probably thinks here of Dura-Europus, still farther down, since violent criss-cross jumps are made anyway. Parthian, having listed that Dūra as its No. 2, may here mean Dourak, west of Killiz, in the Aintab region (Dussaud, Map XII, B2). In any case a sufficiently violent jerk is retained, down to Circesium and back to the farthest north in the Syrian raid with Germanicia-Marash. Thence we drift back more gently to Batnān, of which name there are at least two, one west and one east of the Euphrates, between

which the writer is not able at this moment to decide. The last name for Syria and surrounding lands, Xanar, whose reading is guaranteed by Greek Chanar, is another poser; can it possibly be ancient Ichnae-Khenez-Khanusaen (Dussaud, p. 520), south of Edessa and Harran?

In Cappadocia we are here dealing quite definitely with a separate and independent incursion from northern Armenia westward, as Satala and Domana show. Phreata remains uncertain (Ramsay, p. 284), and the identification of the other names may with this brief indication be left for later search, probably by others, if they can be identified at all. Just one further remark seems in place here; the Syriac source quoted from Nöldeke for the correct date of this second war also knew the correct geographical location of the devastating raids on this campaign, in Syria and Cappadocia. That he knew this inscription is far less likely than that the matter of this inscription was in his day found registered in Persian annals lost soon after.

C. IRAN'S AGGRESSION AGAINST ROME

With excellent reason Shahpuhr now proceeds to unfold his third war with Rome as the most destructive and profitable, the greatest and most successful of all his wars. This time Shahpuhr states without subterfuge or circumlocution of any kind that this war is started by his own offensive action. He is attacking and besieging Harran (Carrhae) and Edessa (Orrhoe). If the reading of No. 12(11) above, *Urxai*, Greek *Our*???, was correct, it must be observed both that the Greek here has Edessa and that the destruction and devastation of this city, at least, can have been neither very thorough nor lasting. In any case both cities here named must stand a lengthy and elaborate siege in this attempt to take them, which means that these *kūrah*'s behind, i.e., east, of the scene of Shahpuhr's previous plundering raids are still in Roman possession, are in some sense occupied by the Romans and have some sort of Roman garrison to defend them and a Roman commander to lead the defense. In fact, oddly enough, no report is here made of their capture at any time. It is to relieve their siege that Valerian assembles an army and advances against Shahpuhr into those plains, where the odds were nearly always against the Roman infantry and in favor of the mobile Persian archers on horseback.

Of the composition of Valerian's army Shahpuhr knew much more in far greater detail than of either of the two preceding ones, because presently he took prisoner and sent home to Persian lands not only the Caesar but the entire corps of its higher commanding officers and with them most probably the whole army. It made good reading for the glory of Shahpuhr to list in great detail the various parts of the far-flung Roman Empire from which these legions and cohorts had been gathered. So that, as Henning saw (*BSOS*, IX, 4, 828-33), is what Shahpuhr's secretaries at his command proceed to do.

Following upon this list the war itself is once again summed up in the brief report of one great battle. After the tremendous disaster which overtook the Roman army in this battle destructive raiding starts pretty much where the

previous raids left off. Syrian Antioch is not mentioned again, though Alexandrette and Nicopolis are, and another Antioch in Cilicia does occur, which perhaps caused confusion in the Western accounts. Aside from Alexandrette the new raids simply cover everything that can in any sense be called Cilicia and the great western bulk of Cappadocia to the Galatian border, no effort being apparent to define nicely the frontiers of Roman provinces.

This time Shahpuhr notes specifically, though the note may refer also to the previous campaign, that quite aside from the captured Roman army he carried off non-Aryan, i.e., non-Iranian, or, as we might say, non-Persian peoples in considerable numbers and settled them in what he considered Aryan domain belonging to himself and his forebears, under which captain he names some rather surprising territories. It is important to note this, for it makes clear that Shahpuhr never considered Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia permanently conquered lands, to be occupied and incorporated in his Iran-shahr, as he might have done with Edessa and Harran, had he taken them.

Shahpuhr was content to have so weakened the Roman power on whatever he considered his western frontier, that Rome could not and did not in his lifetime attempt any effective action against that frontier. He gives no evidence whatever of any interest in or attempt to meddle with Rome's internal affairs. Cyriades is nowhere mentioned, and that explodes another of Herzfeld's unhistorical fancies. The second figure of a Roman on Shahpuhr's repeated victory monuments can under no circumstances be considered Cyriades; it is the pretorian prefect as chief of staff or simply an aide-de-camp of Valerian. Cyriades was not a creature of Shahpuhr, and Shahpuhr took no active interest in him. Cyriades was simply one of the many pretenders to the Roman throne under Gallienus, son and successor of Valerian. To bolster up his shaky cause he may have claimed some backing from Shahpuhr's great prestige in the East, but neither that, nor anything else so far made clear, is proof that Shahpuhr so much as knew him, let alone his taking any active interest in him.

The case of Palmyra is similar, differing only in the measure of its success. Their action against some returning detachment of Shahpuhr's booty-laden army was probably much less significant than Western reports resting on Palmyra's own claims make it seem. The major expansion of Palmyra was never on the Persian side, but on the Roman, fanwise, to Egypt and well into Asia Minor. Shahpuhr may have been well enough content to observe this development with a watchful eye. The Persians probably knew this desert-centered kingdom, playing a Helleno-Roman game in something like the Parthian manner, far better, more realistically, far earlier, than did the Romans. Shahpuhr seems never to have bothered them nor greatly about them, although, of course, a small detachment of his raiders on the first raiding campaign may have brushed through their territory and even through the walls of their capital in passing. Their action against the Persian army

was probably considered by that army at that time as little more than somewhat large-scale beduin raid.

With the cliché that he did much more which is not here set down in writing, but that this is recorded, so that posterity might know his deeds and his glory, this section and therewith the entire great section on Shahpuhr's wars is brought to a close.

The ArsParth version is well preserved and runs as follows:

(In LINE 9, following five words and the numeral) *Xrtyk zavr* ²*MT LN apr* *Xarn W* ²*Vrxay vy* (or *n*) *xšt XWYm W Xarn W* ²*Vrxay pyvdyt Valrnyvs-Kysr apr LN* ²*TYt W N* (or *Y*) *XWt LWT* (1) *MN Grmanya xštr* (2) *MN Ryš(č)ya xštr* (3) *MN A* (or *Ny?*) *rkvs xštr* (4) *MN Dakya xštr* (5) *MN Pndnya xštr* (6) *MN Mvsya xštr* (to save space and time we now list and number the names only): (7) *Astrya* (8) *Ar(?k?)tnya* (9) *Aprnya* (10) *Trakya* (LINE 10) (11) *Butnya* (12) *Asaya(?)* (13) *P(?Q?)mpaya* (14) *Asvrya* (15) *Lvknya* (16) *Glatynay* (17) *Lukya* (18) *Kylkya* (19) *Kpvtkya* (20) *Prykaya* (21) *Svrya* (22) *Pnkaya* (23) *Yvtaya* (24) *Arbya* (25) *Tvrn* (26) *Grmanya* (27) *R(!)vt(!)as(!)* (28) *A(?)snyvs(!)* (LINE 11) (29) *Mdyn-Rvtn xštr zavry LXX* ²*LPYN W MN-xv ŠTRA Xarn W* ²*Vrxay LWT Valrnyvs Kysr RBA rpy N(?)XWt W Valrnyvs Kysr BNPŠH pty NPŠH YDA dstgrb* ²*BDt W avyatk RBYSYP Santvr W Xyk(g)mwn MNW LXW zavry sdr N(?)XWt xrv dstgrb* ²*BDt W LKR* (for *L*) *A* (or *LBRA?*) ²*L Pars XYTYt XWYN W Svrya xštr Kylkya xštr W Kpvtkya xštr* (LINE 12) *atrvxt avyrn W vrtiaz* ²*BDt W* ²*XDt LXW zavr MN PRvmyn xštr* (The names only are now given and numbered; the recurrent formula, exactly the same as before, is here omitted throughout.) (1) *Alyxsndrya W Ktysvsy(!)* (2) *Šmšat* (3) *Krtb* (or *k* or *r*) *ay* (4) *Aygay* (5) *Mamaspya* (6) *Mar(!)vs* (7) *Atarya(!)* (8) *Trysst* (LINE 13) (9) *Zpyrvn* (10) *Spsty* (11) *Kvl(!)kvs* (12) *Angl(!)pvs* (13) *Kstapr(!)ay* (14) *Nl(!)v(?y?)k(!)yas* (15) *Pr(!)an(!)yas* (16) *Nykpr(!)vs* (17) *Aypynay* (LINE 14) (18) *Kyr(!)ndrvs* (19) *Anymyrdny* (20) *Sr(!)ynvs* (21) *Mydnpr(!)vs* (22) *Atyvkya* (23) *Sr(!)t(!)yap(!)* (24) *Mvstynprvsy(!!!)* (25) *Tvdyna-y(?)* (26) *Kysrya* (27) *Krmanadya* (LINE 15) (28) *Kvpstrya* (29) *Spstydaya* (30) *Byrt* (31) *Rakvndya* (32) *Lal(!)ndya* (33) *Aykvndya xmysak MXWZA* ²*M prybr xmkvsy XXXIII II/ W mrtxvmk MH MN PRvmyn xštr MN Anaryan* (LINE 16) *pty awar XYTYt B-Aryan-xštr B-Pars Prtv Xvzstn Asvrstn W* ²*XRN xštr Lxštr* ²*N W LN W* ²*BYtr Wnyakn W xsynkn dst<krt> N(?)XWt TMH Y(N?)DRYKWt W LN* ²*XRNš(č) ŠGYA xštr YBt(?) W ŠGYA ŠMH W TBpy* ²*BDt MH TNH LA KTYBt byš(č) ZK avnt MN ZK krt-y avpdšt KTYBt* ²*YK MNW BATR MNN(?) Y(N?)XH* (LINE 17) *ZNH ŠMH TBpy W xvtvypy MH LN Y(N?)DcHd.*

The Greek, in part still badly eroded, but with the help of the Parthian for the most part decipherable, beginning in about the middle of line 19 and running well past the middle of line 37, reads:

Tē de tritē agōgē opote ēmeis epi Karras te kai Edessan ōrmēsamen kai Karras kai Edessa (n) (l. 20) epoliorkoumen Oualerianos Kaisar [eph ēmas]

ēlthen kai ēsan met autou apo (1) Germanōn ethnous (2) Retias (3) Nōrikou (4) Dakeias (5) Pannonias (l. 21) (6) Mysias (7) Amastrias (8) ? . . . anias (9) [A?] . . [a?]ta . . . ? (10) Th[rakias] (11) Bithynias (12) [A]sias (13) Kampanias (14) Syrias (l. 22) (15) Lykaonias (16) Galatias (17) Lykias (18) (19) Kappad[ok]ias (20) Phrygias (21) Syrias (22) Phoineikēs (l. 23) (23) Ioudaias (24) Arabias (25) Mauritanias (26) G . . m . . . (27) Lydias (28) Asias (29) Mesopotamias dynamis ebdomēkonta (l. 24) cheiliadōn kai ek tou ekeithen merous Karrōn kai Edessōn meta <Ouale>rianou Kaisaro(s?) megas polemos ēmein gegonen kai Oualerianon Kaisara ēmeis en idiais chersin ektratēsa (l. 25) men kai tous loipous ton te eparchon kai synklētikous kai ēgem[onas oitines] ekeinēs tēs dynamēōs archontes ēsan pantas toutous en chersin ektratēsamen kai eis tēn (l. 26) Persida autous exēgagomen kai to ethnos tēs Syrias kai to ethnos tēs Kilikias kai to ethnos tēs Kappadokias pyri ekausamen kai ērēmōsamen kai ēchmalōtisamen kai ektratē (l. 27) samen (!) ekeine de tē agōgē ektratēsamen(!) apo tou ethnous Rōmaiōn (1) Samosata (2) Alexandrian tēn Katison (3) Katabolon (l. 28) (4) Aigeon (5) Mompsouestian (6) Mallon (7) Adana (8) Tarson (9) Zephyrin (l. 29) (10) Sebastēn (11) Kōrykon (12) Agrippas (13) Kastabala (14) Nerōniada (l. 30) (15) Phlouiada (16) Neikopolin (17) Epiphanian (18) A(?)Kelenderin (19) Anemourian (l. 31) (20) Selinoun (21) Myon(!) (22) Antiochian (23) Seleukian (24) Dometiou(!) (l. 32) (25) Tyana (26) Mēta-karirē(!) (27) Komana (28) Kybistra (29) Sebastian (l. 33) (30) Birthan (31) Rakoundian (32) Laranda (33) Ikonin. Pasas tautas tas poleis (l. 34) syn tais perichōrois autōn 36 kai anthrōpous tous apo tou ethnous Rōmaiōn apo tōn Anarianōn en arpagē ēgagamen kai en tō ēmeterō ethnei tō Arianōn en Persidei kai (l. 35) en Parthia kai en Ouzēnē kai en tē Assyria kai en tois eterois ethnesin kat eparchiōn opou ēmōn te kai tou patros ēmōn kai pappōn kai progonōn ēmōn ktismata ēn ekei autous (l. 36) apekathisamen kai ēmeis etera polla ethnē ezētēsamen kai poly onoma kai andreiotēta epepoiēsamen a enthade ouk enegrapsamen plēn ta tosauta dia touto ekeleusamen gra (l. 37) phēnai ina ostis meth ēmas estai touto to onoma kai tēn andreian kai tēn despoteian tēn ēmeteran epignōsetai.

In this section SasMP comes in with larger legible or partly legible fragments of lines, but it is still a long way from furnishing a continuous text. The section begins at the very beginning of line 12, where, following the Parthian, we can now read with considerable confidence: *Wstyl=r zavl=ry M<T LN>H <MDM Xr>any <W>Vrray <č>ast (or včast)*. A little past the middle of this line traces appear, which must belong to (Grmany) *ay*, (Raetia), a considerable remnant of (Nori)*kvsy*, (Dacia), a considerable part of (Pan) *dnyay*, *Mwsyay* (complete), the beginning of [*As*]*<tryay>*. At the head of line 13 we find No. 9, as in both the others, in a worn and eroded spot; the remnants seem to fit best a reading *Aspn* (or *an*)*yay*, as the Greek may be read [Isp]anias; in ArsParth, after A, *k* or *r* seemed safest, because the down-stroke at the left, which would make it *s*, looks like a fault in the stone, and,

following this, *t*(?), though imperfect, was read, because the remnants are possible for *p* of a narrow and crowded form only; the cumulative evidence of all three makes Hispania the most probable reading. All but the first letter of No. 9 is perfectly clear in SasMP, and with the ArsParth the first letter is practically certain, to be read *Apl=ṛkydy*, which can hardly be anything other than Africa; ArsParth is somewhat indistinct, and what one really sees well is the reading given above, though it is possible, and with SasMP probable, that it is actually *Aprkya*, likewise Africa; of the Greek two letters only are certain *-ta-*, with three or four letter spaces preceding and three following, of which latter the first may be *n* and the last probably *s*, so that, with a possible *i* preceding *t*, one wonders whether this Greek with the help of Roman officers could possibly have used Zeugitana as an alternate name for Africa. The MN following Africa introduces a long lacuna, broken first by the MN, which introduced the equivalent of ArsParth No. 14, and then, fairly clear, the beginning of No. 16, *Glat* (not *d*, as in *Kartīr*, l. 12, though the ending may be read as in *Kartīr*;) [*kyday*]. From here on with the help of the Parthian and Greek we have fairly clear sailing through No. 17, *Lvkyday*; No. 18, <*Kl*>*ykyday*; No. 19, *Kpvtkyay*; and No. 20, *Pl=ṛkydy*; but No. 21 at the end of the line is illegible. In the beginning of line 14 what we now know to be No. 22 appears to be written *Pynkyxy*, and then the clear *Yxvdyā* . . . furnishes the last legible name in this list in SasMP. Fragments belonging to Nos. 26, 27, and 29 appear later, but the first truly legible signs are those of the very end of the list, here written *zvl=ry* 70,000. From these numbers we continue with a fair degree of certainty: [WMN] ZK ŠTRAY <*Xran W*> >*Vrxy* LWTH Vlyal=*rnwsy* Kysl=*ry artyk YXWWN a[pmn?] Vlyal=rnwsy [Kysl=ry]* (LINE 15) BNPŠH PWN NPŠH YDH *dstgl=ṛby krt* The usual long lacuna is broken in the middle by a fragment of the second *dstgl=ṛby k<rt>* and then by identifiable fragments leading to a bit of fairly continuous text, as follows: (*WSvl=ryay štry Klykyday štry WKpvtkyay*) *štry atvrsxty WW(!)avyl=ran Wvl=ṛtyač(ž) krtly [apn(?) W=<XDWN PWN ZK zvl=ry(?) MN]* (LINE 16) *XRvmykyn štry Šm[šaty] štrdstn MN pl=ṛval=r*] . . . lacuna a little remnant of the formula for No. 3, remnants of No. 4, not safely legible, with its formula, then: (5) *Mamsttyay* (6) *Malvsy* (6) *Ata[tnyay?]* (LINE 17) (7) [*Tl=ṛstty?*] (8) (Not "a jumble of traces," as Henning says, and his reading Mopsucrene is impossible in every way; this is a bit of rarely good surface, and the chisel strokes are more definite than almost any others in this legible spot; the real difficulty is that the letter forms are in part not as clear as they might be, possibly because the scribe himself was not altogether certain of what he was trying to write; the spacing shows that the SasMP scribe has in this place in this list a name that the others do not have; the strokes, as they stand, are:) *Agnst*(or *yn*)*y*(or *l=r*)*k*(or exaggerated *v*)*ay*; if *n* is an error for *v*, then it may be possible to identify this with Augusta-Agousia-Augustopolis, between Adana and Mallos, "in the district Bryklike," mentioned and briefly discussed in Ramsay's

Historical Geography of Asia Minor, pages 383 and 384. In the great lacuna fragments of the formula for ArsParth Nos. 9 and 10 are relieved on the second stone by traces of increasing clearness, the first of which may possibly be read as No. 11 (here No. 12?) [*Kvl=rykvsy*], then, fairly certain, (12/13) *Angl=rpvsy*, (13/14) *Kstplady*, and, far less clear, (14/15) *Nl=rvn . . sy*. In line 18 the third word is barely recognizable as (15/16) *Plavyasy*; the great lacuna hides (16/17) completely and all but the end of the formula of (17/18), after which, still on the first stone, traces of (18/19) can be read, not quite certainly, *Klvndrvsy*, and on the second stone, much more clearly, (19/20) *Anymyl=rdny*, (20/21) *Slynvsy*, and (21/22) *Mz(!)dnpl=rvsy*. In line 19 the fourth word-space bears traces of (22/23) *Atypkyay*, and, after the close of its formula, of (23/24) the initial *S* alone is absolutely certain, though the outline of a *t* as the third letter, as in Parthian, may not be pure deception. The lacuna hides all but a bit of the formula of (24/25), but after it, on the first stone, identifiable, but not fully legible, appears (25/26) *Ty(or v)dynay*, and, with greater clearness, on the second stone (26/27) *Kysl=rydyay* (27/28) *Kvmanady* (28/29) *Kvpstl=ryay*, and at the very end (29/30) *Spstyay*. Of the last four names, though the space for them is there, and a few fragments of the formula of three are visible, no trace is left in the first half of line 20. Of the final summing-up a part of the formula is preserved and five strokes of the numeral, probably 36 as in the others. With the Parthian and Greek at hand the rest of the line is now fairly clear: *W ANŠWTA MH MN XRvmadyn štry* [*MN Anyl=ran*] *PWN ad(for v?)al=ry* (LINE 21) *XYTYW ZKn(!) BYN* [*Yl=ran*]. The two lower lines on the upper stones are unfortunately in worse condition than the somewhat better-preserved blocks above them. Toward the very end of the section we can nevertheless make out the readings with some uncertainty in details. In about the second half of ArsParth, line 16, SasMP sets in once more in the last third of its line 21: <ŠG>YA štry WŠGYA ŠM W[n(?)????y kl=rtly] [BRA] ZNH av(?)nt MN [XNA krtly prmay >YK] MNW >XR YXWWN (LINE 22) KZNH ŠM W????y W. . . .

In this large block of text Semitic masks and new words or uses of words again call for comment. *LWT*, Parthian for Persian *LWTH*, is not yet registered for *Paikuli*; since it can hardly be *ad*, "with," for which the mask seems to be ^c*M*, has Parthian its own form of *apāk*, *apāč*? Parthian *ŠTRA* differs from Persian *ŠTRA* only in the more exact indication of the proper *t*-sound; with older *Sīn* for later *Sāmekh* in both, and proper *r*, instead of *l=r*, in SasMP, this points to early adoption for use in Persian writing; for Persian *FrPhl*, II, lines 3 f., offers *alak*, *xalāy* (ed. Junker, p. 85; in l. 4 and p. 85 *ŠTL=R*, *kanārak*, is the same Semitic word) for which Henning, *Mir-Man*, III, 49[894], has Parthian *>rg*, *>rg*; the most extensive treatment of these words, without distinction of Persian and Parthian, may be found in Bthl, *ZairWb*, pages 35, 113, 117; *MirM*, I, 3-5; the Greek *meros* suits these Iranian words perfectly, though in themselves words like *sōk*, *kustak*, or *agōč(ž)* are

also acceptable. *BNPŠH* is written *vxd* in Turfan Parthian, *NPŠH* is *vxybyh*; in both cases *vx-* can hardly mean a pronunciation of the sounds in the order of writing, but simply another writing of sounds pronounced with and through each other, like English *when*, *which*, and written now *vx-* and now *xv-*; reasons for the inverted writing in the Northeast are not known to this writer. The title used in the Parthian for the Greek *eparchos*, most probably the Latin *praefectus praetorii*, is odd and looks like a Semitic "master of the sword"; it cannot be the *sapsīrdār* of line 27; was there an older *sapsīrpat*, perhaps similar to the later *puštīgānsālār* (Christensen, *L'Iran*, p. 126)? If *LKRA* is correctly read and interpreted as Semitic *lekullā*, that might be Iranian *harvisp*; it may be read *LBRA*, possibly for *ō bēh*, or simply *bēh*; the use of the preposition *L* in Parthian calls for a special study, which cannot here be undertaken. *XYTY-*, *SasMP* and *BPhl*, *XYTYW-*, stand for some form or derivative of *nay-*, at least in Persian (Henning, *Vb*, p. 181; *FrPhl*, ed. Junker, pp. 60 and 94), for which, as for many other things Herzfeld's *Paikuli* seriously needs revision; in Turfan Parthian does not seem to use this root, so that for *ArsParth* also we may rather have to posit *vad-* (Ghilain, p. 71), perhaps *āvāst* or *izvāst*, less probably *nam-* (Ghilain, p. 73), *franaft*. *XRN* is *anē* in Parthian. *ᵐN*, by the testimony of Greek *opou*, is Aramaic *ᵐān*, "where," in Parthian probably *kū* in this sense. *TMH* is good Parthian *ōd* (Nyberg, *Hb*, *Gloss.*, p. 165). For *Y(N?)DRYKWt* Greek has *apekathisamen*, which must mean *SasMP* *YTYBWN*, *nīšāst*; a different Semitic mask in Parthian suggests a different verb, particularly since Turfan shows for the causative of *sīd* only a Sogdian loan, *nīšēl-*; it may be *avistāt* (Ghilain, p. 90), less probably *nibāyat* (Ghilain, p. 70). *ŠGYA*, with *Sīn*, seems to be the Parthian mask for *vas*; in *SasMP* it may be differentiated from *KBYR*, *vas*, as *vasyār*. What looks like *YKRt* is probably *YBt*, from *B-Ā*, "ask, search out," which, with the Greek *ezētēsamen*, points to Iranian *yaod-* (Henning, *Vb*, p. 183; Ghilain, pp. 65 and 87); if the Semitic is correctly read, the Parthian can here hardly be *vxāšt*. The Greek proves Henning's "revered teacher, the late Professor F. C. Andreas," right in reading *TNH* in the meaning "here," probably *ēd*, rather than *ēdar*, *ētar*, always *LTMH* in *BPhl*. *BATR* in Parthian is *paš* (Tedesco, *MO*, XV, 1921, 209 ff.), not *pas* (Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 1924, *Gloss.*, p. 151, Nos. 191 f.). *Y(N?)XH* appears to be differentiated from the simple verb "to be" and may, in spite of Greek *estai*, be used for some form of *živ-*, "live," unless, indeed, it stands for the subjunctive *bavā(h)* (Ghilain, p. 115, cf. p. 50). *YDcHd* looks like a simple present indicative third singular, *zānēd*, and can hardly be either a plural or a subjunctive.

Corresponding to the interesting Parthian ordinal for "the third," with which this section opens, *SasMP*, line 12, opens with clearly legible *v*, which must be *W*, "and," though this conjunction is absent in both Parthian and Greek, the latter, however, supplying *de*; after this only one letter, *s*, is absolutely clear, and this is the natural initial in *MP* for a numeral "third";

with the "jumble of traces" that follow this numeral has been read tentatively as *sitīkar*, but it may with Turfan MP be read *s[tyk-y]*. The Parthian verb *pyvdyt*, rendered by Greek *epoliorkoumen*, is new; sieges are rare in Pahlavi literature, and it is tempting, but impossible, to connect our word with the one occurrence of "besiege" listed by Salemann, *GdirPh*, I, 1b, 298, *parvast* (cf. Tavadia, *Šāyast-nē-Šāyast*, II, 119, p. 70 and n. 5); the only recourse, which this writer sees, is once more *yaod-*, *yaud-*, with the preverb *pati-*, *pay-* before *-yōd* (Henning, *Vb*, pp. 228-30 and 253; Ghilain, pp. 105 ff.), with the verb in the older form (Ghilain, p. 87), which still leaves the second *v* to be explained by the linguists; the meaning would be "assaulted," but assaults are a part of most sieges; SasMP, unfortunately, is missing. For "great war," or "battle, combat," where SasMP has *artīk*, the Parthian in this instance has *ropy* (the letter forms in themselves also legible as *kpy*), which on the testimony of the Turfan material listed by Ghilain (p. 56) is a good Parthian term for *mêlée*. *Avyatak* is rendered by Greek *tous loipous*, apparently here "for the rest"; the Iranian word is that which was recognized by Oppert (*Le Peuple et la langue des Mèdes*, p. 228, n. 1) as to be read for *aviltaka* in *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, ed. Mauricius Schmidt, I, 7, where it is translated by Greek *mnēmōna* in some such meaning as "to wit"; the Iranian term, adverbially used, must mean something like "to mention those worth mentioning." The ranks named are in Latin terminology the prefect, those of senatorial rank, the *duces*, and, in short, all the officers, a clear indication of the extent of the disaster which overtook Valerian and his army. What happened to them afterward, including Valerian, is also quite clear; they were marched off captive to the Persis. In lines 15/16 of the Parthian, where Shahpuhr tells us of non-Aryan peoples led captive to Pars, Parthia, Khuzistan, Assyria, etc., three things may be noted. (a) In referring to all this territory as belonging in some sense to himself, his father, his grandparents, and more remote forebears, Shahpuhr does for once seem to be identifying his ancestry with the Arsacid Parthians; he may, but must not, be thinking of his ancestors through the female line. (b) The word for the more remote forebears is, of course, the *hsyng* of Andreas-Henning, *MirMan*, III, pages 56[901] and 65[910], in the latter under *pydr*. (c) The word *dastkirt*, for which Greek uses both *ktisma* and a simple transliteration, seems to include all sorts of cultivated or in some sense artefact royal possessions, for which, perhaps, "the royal estates" is not an inept term; later on the king himself is the *dastkirt*, "handiwork," of the gods. The word *avpdšt* here and in line 22, with the first plural of the present, *avpdysvm*, in line 19, everywhere rendered by Greek *keleuein*, SasMP *framātan*, *framāy-*, is found in the same form in Šahpuhr's inscription at Hājjiābād, Parthian, line 10; cf. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, p. 88, and *Gloss.*, p. 128, no. 30; solved by Bthl, *ZairWb*, pages 169 and 165, and by him equated with Turfan Parthian *abdēs-*, *abdišt*, on which one may also see A-H, *MirMan*, III, *Gloss.*, p. 47[892], and Ghilain, 61, who find in the Turfan form the preverb *abi*, instead of Bthl's *upa*, cf. also his *MirSt*, V, *WZKM*, XXIX (1915), 19.

A peculiar word occurs twice in this section and once at the very end, line 29, where Greek has twice *andreia* and once *andreiotēs*; twice it is paired with *nām*, "fame," alone, and once it occurs in a group of three, "fame, manliness (virtue, heroism), and lordship"; it looks at first sight like *krbp-y* or *rkrbp-y*, with neither of which the writer can do anything acceptable; the third time it looks more clearly like *TBp-y*, and that may be *nēvēf-y*, a pretty fair word for "bravery, manliness, heroism." In SasMP the phrase at the end, in which the word would come to stand on fair surface, is omitted altogether, and in lines 20 and 21 the surface is marred both times, so that the reading remains uncertain. The first letter is very probably *n*, the second looks more like *y* than anything else, the third may be *v* or *k* or *d* (redundant?), the fourth may well be *l=r*, and the last three *vky*, a possible, though odd writing of *nērōk*, "strength, manliness."

With text and notes behind us we can now render this section, also, into English with a fair degree of ease and certainty:

"In the third campaign, when we had turned upon Harran and Edessa and were assaulting Harran and Edessa, Valerian Caesar came up against us, there being with him, from Germania (I) province, Raetia, Noricum, Dacia, Pannonia, Moesia, Amastria (Histria? Paphlagonia?), Ispania, Africa(?), Thrace, Bithynia, Asia (I?), Campania, Assyria (Syria I), Lycaonia, Galatia, Lycia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, Syria (II), Phoenicia, Judaea, Arabia, Mauretania, Germania (II), Lydia, Mesopotamia, an army of 70 thousand, and on that side of Harran and Edessa with Valerian Caesar there was a great battle, and Valerian Caesar himself by (our) own hands was taken prisoner and, in summary record, the (pretorian) prefect, senators, and generals, and whoever was an officer in that army, all were taken prisoner and all together (or "away") they were led to the Persis. Then Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia were ravaged with fire, destruction, and captivity. And in that campaign there were sacked of the Roman Empire (the following cities with their provinces all around): Samosata, Alexandria Catis(s)on, Katabolon, Aigai, Mompsuestia, Mallos, Adana, Tarsus, (Augustopolis), Zephyrion, Sebaste (Elaioussa), Korykos, Agrippas(?), Kastabala, Neronias (Eirenopolis), Flavias, Nicopolis, Epiphania, Kelenderis, Anemourion, Selinus, Myonopolis, Antiochia, Seleucia, Dometiupolis, Tyana, Caesarea (Mazaca?), Komana, Kybistra, Sebastia, Birtha, Rakoundia, Laranda, Ikonion, a total count of cities with their provinces all around of thirty-six. And people, such as were non-Aryans from the Roman Empire, were seized by force and carried off into Iranshahr, into Persis, Parthia, Khuzistan, Assyria, and other lands unto lands, where we and our father and our grandfathers and forebears had royal estates; there we settled them. And many other lands did we search out (for attack and conquest), and much fame and heroism did we accomplish, which are not written here. But these many things for this reason did we command to be written, that whosoever after us came to be (live?) might know this (such) fame and heroism and lordship as are ours."

A few further remarks, chiefly geographical, must suffice here. Not all the cities mentioned have been definitely identified and located on such maps as were within fairly easy reach. At the very outset the inversion of Samosata and Alexandria Katison in the Greek and SasMP will escape no observant reader; their order is nearer to the actual route from the battlefield near Harran and Edessa to Cilicia. The inscription in this section mentions as the provinces in which cities were sacked, Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia. Within this list, however, no assignment of cities to provinces is made, as was done for the second campaign. There is no evidence that many towns in Syria were raided a second time. At most two, Alexandrette and Nicopolis, occur in both lists, and beyond these only Samosata is properly assignable to Syria. Cilicia is speedily reached, and most of the towns mentioned there and in Cappadocia are fairly easy to locate in Ramsay's *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*. For the list as a whole, with some exceptions, the Greek forms correspond better to names as we know them from elsewhere; Persian hearing and writing of many of these names, to them utterly foreign, may, not surprisingly, be classed as defective. After the easy two at the outset Greek immediately gives us for No. 3 an intelligible name and a proper location; our list shows, that the Antonine Itinerary, as Ramsay gives it (p. 66), is right in placing "Catabolo" between Aegeas-Aigai and Bais-Baiae, and that Ramsay's criticism is wrong, because he does not know Katabolon and confuses it with Kastabala. Numbers 4-8 are easy to follow westward into Cilicia, and the identification of Augustopolis in the text of SasMP at this point fits pretty well into this picture, even though neither it nor Katabolon have been located by the mapmakers. Numbers 9-11 again follow easily along the coast westward. Number 12 remains unidentified, and it is difficult to tell, whether it belongs at the end of this line westward or at the beginning of the group 13-17, all of which are east of the Saros, most of them east of the Pyramos River. After the insertion of this eastern group we pick up the march westward, where we left it with No. 11. Numbers 18-20 run along easily. Number 21, the "city of mice" (?), is probably the town for which one has to look in Ramsay's (frequently imperfect) index under Mousbada, Mousbanda, Musanda, Myanda, Mysanda. Numbers 22 and 23 should give no real trouble, Antioch, far from that of Syria, and Nephelis-Juliosebaste being easy to find on the coast a little east of Selinous, the farthest west here reached, and 21-23 forming a little triad from east to west within the bounds of the one just before it, 18-20. Parthian *Srtyap* looks like a typical miswriting, *r* for *l*, as often; *t* a mistake for *vk*; and final *p* a peculiarity found elsewhere and not yet satisfactorily explained, though Herzfeld made a typical attempt at it in *Paikuli, Gloss.*, Nos. 579-81, pages 210 f. With No. 25, Dometioupolis, again sadly miswritten in Parthian, we move through the Cilician Decapolis on a bold hop northeastward to Tyana and Cappadocia. Number 26 must be Caesarea-Mazaca, though it appears badly messed up in the Greek, unless another explanation can be found for its *curiosum*. From this center two bold strokes

seem to lead first southeast to Komana and then far to the northeast to Sebasteia-Sivas on the Halys, though before this is inserted we are already with another detachment on the road westward, at Kybistra, to close in the farthest west with Laranda and Iconium. Birtha may well be Barata, between Iconium and Laranda. With these it is tempting, but with the violent jumps registered elsewhere not wholly safe, to look for Racundia, not yet identified, in this same region. This brief survey must suffice here, leaving detailed studies to others.

As has been noted, the reason for Shahpuhr's detailed knowledge and recital of the units of this Roman army is patent. Henning's assumption that it was drawn entirely from the eastern half of the empire is not borne out. Problems that remain unsolved may well be left to Jakob Larsen and his kind. The foundations for their solution are solidly laid in the reading here given, as we herewith conclude our work on this account of Shahpuhr's wars.

III. SHAHPUHR'S FOUNDATIONS

A. SHAHPUHR'S FIRES AND MAGIANS

Shahpuhr has now been introduced to us, as he wishes us to know him. The length and breadth of his empire has been spread out before our eyes with his favorite son and heir named at the end of the description. Shahpuhr's three major successes in war have been unfolded before us, and we have been given to understand that there were other wars, which conquered other regions and peoples and embodied them in the Iranian Empire. Thus far the parallelism with the great Darius inscription is fairly close.

Henceforward the parallelism is much less pronounced, though still apparent, as a new, detailed reading of this Shahpuhr inscription to its end will make evident. The chief difference, of course, is this, that Darius gives no evidence of any state church, priesthood, or established ritual or dogmatic theology, which he recognizes. A further difference is caused by the fact that Darius disturbs the orderly flow of his ending by introducing afterthoughts in the form of appendixes. This probably means that Darius began at an earlier time in his life and reign to formulate his great autobiographic statement, while Shahpuhr's was formulated so near the end of his reign and life that, as will be seen, not only Kartīr's inscription underneath but the end of the SasMP version of Shahpuhr's own inscription gives us some reason to believe that it was finished only after Shahpuhr's death. Nevertheless, the major purposes of the concluding section or sections in both Darius and Shahpuhr are: properly grateful honor to the gods; preservation of the name and fame (personality?) of the author (with Shahpuhr distinctly adding prominent members of his family in ascending and descending lines); a memorial to aids and members of the court, most, if not all, of whom are not of the immediate royal family; a pious prayer for the continuance of divine favor (not very well preserved in Darius' Behistun).

This brief statement will make clear to those who have followed this work

that the writer now sees this last third of the great Shahpuhr inscription differently than he did up to the present. Allowing for other differences to appear, as the detailed publication proceeds paragraph by paragraph, the major difference or differences will be clear immediately, as we now break up this section into its subsections.

Shahpuhr begins by remembering (for the first time) the gods and their aid in his exploits and conquests, in return for which he has established all over the empire many Varahran fires, conferred benefits upon many magi, and made great the worship of the gods. This general statement is followed by the foundation in this very inscription of five greater fires named after himself and four especially honored children. A third, very extensive subsection establishes daily sacrifices, offerings, or masses for souls in three subdivisions: (1) for himself alone; (2) for those already mentioned and other members of his family; and (3) for members of the court, for the most part not of the immediate, royal family, again subdivided into three parts: (a) those of Pāpak's court; (b) those of Ardashir's; and (c) those of Shahpuhr's court. The funds or materials for these masses or sacrifices are provided, apparently in perpetuity, from the royal or state treasury. No information is given as to just how the more or less sacred objects, liberally provided, are to be used. The chief difference from previous statements made by this writer lies in this: that he now recognizes not only some but the majority of the names here listed as designating men at the court or in the service of these early Sasanian kings, *not* belonging to the royal family.

As for previous sections, so here, the text is now set forth in the usual order with notes and translation following. The Parthian reads:

*W LQBLKD ʔYK yazt(n?) LN MN ZK gvnk dskrt ʔBDWnt W pty yaztn
pvšt ZNH avnt xštr Y(N?)B^cHm W XXSNwm (or XXSNWm) KN LNš(č)
xštr Lxštr ŠGYA atrv Vrxran Y(N?)DRYKWt W ŠGYA mgv GBRA krpkpy(!)
ʔBDt W RBA yaztn vyndršn ʔBDt.*

Greek, beginning in the last third of line 37, reads:

Kat ekeino (oun, inserted over the line) oti oi theoi ēmas outōs dastikertas ektisan kai eis tēn boēthian (l. 38) tōn theōn tauta ta tosaute ethnē ezētēsamen kai katechomen dia touto kai ēmeis de kata ethnos kai ethnos polla pyreia Gouarathran idrysamen kai pollois anthrōpois magois ta agatha epoiēsa (l. 39) men.

The last phrase of the Parthian, a little different in SasMP, has no counterpart in the Greek.

In SasMP the first part of this little paragraph, in the middle third of line 22, the last line on the upper stones, is so completely devastated that, aside from a very few pitiable remnants, one of which may be the first *štry*, nothing is truly legible. In the first half of the last third it is now possible to read with a fair degree of certainty on the second stone, beginning with the fires of: [Vl=rxl=ran Y]TYB[Wnt WKBYR mgvG]BRA krpkpyh kl=rty [ʔYK] <yztan v>[nd]al=rš<n k>l=rty.

LQBLKD ʔYK is new and needs comment, though the letters are perfectly clear. One may be of two minds on *-kad*, which in various types of Aramaic is good enough Semitic, but, by the testimony of all the written Parthian we possess, excellent Parthian also. The situation is further complicated by the following ʔYK, *kū*. The heaping-up of just such particles is not unknown in Aramaic, but this combination is not found, so far as this writer knows. The Aramaic *kad* appears never to be used after *LQBL*; the curious insertion in the Greek makes one wonder whether a Jew or Aramean was at hand to explain this as *kaddū*, which would be *oun*, "now." But Parthian, also, is not easy. If it were not for the Greek, one would be tempted to read the whole as Aramaic, using this as proof that the combination with *kad* existed, and reading Parthian as *hau vasnād kū*, or *hau anvāy kū*; but Greek and Aramaic both point away from a purely causal reading such as that. The most likely Parthian for *LQBL* is *xavāgōn*, frequently followed by *kad*, the combination used at least once (A-H, *MirMan*, III, g, 138) as a preposition, not as a conjunction, so that, perhaps, it could be followed by *kū*. The meaning is clear in any case. In the first of the three occurrences of the gods in this section it looks on the plaster cast and its photograph as though the cutter had first omitted the plural *-n*, then added it in miniature. *YB^cHm* now exhibits the Semitic verb with the final *-h*; these verbal forms call for special attention to carry on what Herzfeld and, especially, Nyberg began nearly twenty years ago. For *YDRYKWt*, here as before, this writer knows no better Semitic form, and no better Parthian than *avistāt*. If *L* does not mean *ōh* here, exactly like *ᶜL* elsewhere, I do not know what else it can stand for. The abstract forms of Parthian and SasMP for *kirpak* used here are instructive; the meaning is clearly "beneficence," not "piety," as apparently everywhere in Turfan. *Vendārišn*, "worship," is an abstract, which seems not to be used in Turfan; there is no doubt about the Parthian and little about the MP here. Though some uncertainties of reading may remain, there is practically none about the meaning of the whole, which may be rendered:

"In view of the fact that the gods have in such wise made us their handiwork (or does he mean here: "invested us with estates"?) and by the help (hardly "protection") of the gods we have conquered and hold so many countries, so we in turn, in country upon country have established many Varahran fires and have conferred beneficences on many magimen and rendered much worship to the gods" (SasMP: "so that worship is rendered to the gods").

The influence of minds like that of Kartīr, for SasMP it may be safe to say simply of Kartīr's mind, are fairly manifest in these acts and statements of Shahpuhr, though with all his generous zeal for the rising Mazdayasnian state church no fanaticism against other religions or churches appears in Shahpuhr's thoughts or deeds, as he himself represents them or has Ahurmazd, the scribe, represent them. With all that is said here it is perfectly compatible that he may have been as tolerantly favorable to Manicheism, as he is said to have been in Manichean literature, which nowhere, so far as I know, lays

claim to grants of moneys, estates, or endowments on the part of the king, such as are here made or mentioned in favor of Shahpuhr's own church and religion. It is a pity, that SasMP is missing in the first part of this little section, so that we cannot determine, whether here, as later, the statement that Shahpuhr was the god's own handiwork, is omitted. Such omissions may be of subtle significance, as in the case of Pāpak, whom neither Ardashir nor Shahpuhr ever call a "Mazdayasnian god."

B. FOUNDATION OF NAME FIRES

The opening statement of this large third section of our great inscription is general in its reference, as has just been seen, covering the whole empire and the entire reign. It receives a little more color from Kartīr's record of Shahpuhr's reign, especially where he comes back to it a second time and follows Shahpuhr's conquests with the establishment of at least one fire temple each in Antioch, Tarsus, and Caesarea Mazaca. For the rest, neither here nor in *Kartīr* are the founding activities so described, that we can assign them to specific localities.

Not even here and now, when by the very act of this inscription fires to perpetuate the name of Shahpuhr himself and four of his favorite children are established, is anything said as to their location, though it is probable that the site of these specifically named fires is not far from the ancient, sacred shrine of the dynasty on which this inscription records them. The name fire of Shahpuhr himself and that of his major queen and daughter, herself named Anahitfire, were surely not far from the scene of the inscription. The fire of the crown prince *may* have been in or near Armenia or the seat of his government for Armenia. The second son, Shahpuhr, *may* have had his fire established somewhere in his realm of Meshan, and Narseh his fire in Beluchistan or India. All this remains pure guesswork; the inscription says nothing about it.

It is perhaps of even greater interest and importance to note who is selected for these solemn name and fame fires near the end of Shahpuhr's life and who is omitted. In Shahpuhr himself, his Queen of Queens, and his crown prince there is nothing to surprise us. But after that, if we compare those honored here with the successors of Shahpuhr named, and especially those greatly favored, by Kartīr, it is certainly striking, that Varahran I and Varahran II are pointedly omitted; Varahran III, of course, may not even have been born, or in any event have been so young that he did not come into question. Of those who seem to form here a line of succession, as the aging Shahpuhr sees it, we know little or nothing of the fate of the Meshanshah Shahpuhr. Narseh, however, is signally distinguished by special epithets, and it is worthy of note that it was he who put an end to the succession of Varahrans favored and probably managed by Kartīr. That throws a very different light on Narseh's seizure of the throne and on his attempt to cancel the name Varahran from the dynasty and to substitute for it his own name, than Herzfeld was able to see.

We present in the usual order the royal deed of foundation here registered. The beginning of ArsParth is in the latter part of line 17:

W TNHš(č) pty npvšt YDRYKWm (numbers, not in the text, are here inserted: 1) *atrv XD Xvsrv-Šxypvzr* (LINE 18) *ŠMH pty LN arvan W pašnam* (2) *atrv XD Xvsrv-Atrv-Anxtyh ŠMH pty Atrv-Anxtyh MLKTHn MLKTH LN BRTy arvan W pašnam* (3) *atrv XD Xvsrv-Axvrmzd-Artxštr ŠMH pty Axvrmzd-Artxštr RBA MLKA Armnyn LN BRy arvan W pašnam* (4) *XRN atrv XD Xvsrv-Šxypvzr ŠMH pty Šxypvzr Myšn MLKA LN BRy arvan W pašnam* (5) *atrv XD Xvsrv-Nrysxv ŠMH pty Ary mzdyn Nrysxv MLKA Xnd Skstn W Turgstn xn- L YMA znb LN BRy arvan W pašnam*.

The Greek starts, after a single syllable carried over from the preceding line, in the beginning of line 39:

Kai eis touto to nibyst kathidrysamen (1) *pyreion en Chostrō-Sabour kaloumenon eis ēmeteran mneian kai onomatos syntērēsīn* (2) *pyreion en Chostrō-Adour-Anaid kaloumenon eis* (l. 40) *tēn* (corrected from *tēs*) *Adour-Anaid tēs basilissēs tōn basilissōn tēs thygatros ēmōn mneian kai onomatos syntērēsīn* (3) *kai pyreion en Chostrō-Ormizd-Artaxeir kaloumenon eis tēn Ōrmizd-Artaxir* (l. 41) *tou megalou basileōs Armenias yiou ēmōn mneian kai onomatos syntērēsīn* (4) *eteron pyreion en Chostrō-Sabour kaloumenon tēn* (corrected from *to*, with *n* inserted above the line in miniature) *Sabour tou Mēsanēnōn basileōs yiou ēmōn* (l. 42) *mneian kai onomatos syntērēsīn* (5) *kai pyreion en Chostrō-Nars . . .* (the end of the name is here evidently miswritten and imperfectly corrected) *kaloumenon eis tē(n n written by a stroke over the line) Arian masdaasnou Narsaiou basileōs Indias Segistēnēs Tourēnēs eōs cheilous* (l. 43) *thalassēs yiou ēmōn eis tēn(!) mneian kai onomatos syntērēsīn*.

After the first nine words in this subsection we pass, with line 23 of SasMP, to the single long lower stone. Even on this all but the last two lines are severely damaged in about the second fifth of their length and more or less seriously in other spots. In spite of this the SasMP, in some respects a very important version, is from here on much better preserved. Even for the sadly devastated lines above this the parallel versions furnished much improved readings. Now with the aid, especially, of the Parthian much that without context was unintelligible can be read with certainty or emended far more safely than could Herr Henning's cleverness aided by the teaching, the deceptive brilliance, and the potent personality of his deceased master, Andreas. We start in about the last fifth of line 22:

WTNHč [PWN npšty YTYBWNm(?)] (1) *<NWRA> [1 xvsl=rvb] Šxpvxry ŠM* (LINE 23) *PWN LNH l=rvban W ptnam* (2) *NWRA 1 Xvsl=rvb-Atrv-Anxtyt ŠM PWN Atrv-[Anxtyt] <MLKTAn MLKTA ZY LNH BRTH>[l=r]v[ban W ptnam* (3) *NWRA 1] Xvsl=rvb-Vxrmzd-Artxštr [ŠM] PWN Vxrmzd-Artxštr L=RBA MLKA Al=rmnan ZY LNH BRHr l=rvban W ptnam* (4) *XRN NWRA 1 Xvsl=rvb-Šxpvxry ŠM PWN Šxpvxry ZY Myšan*

MLKA ZY LNH BRHr l=rvban W ptnam (5) NWRA 1 (LINE 24) Xvsl=rvb-Nrsxy ŠM PWN Ayl=ry mzdysn Nrsxy MLKA Xndy Skstn WTrstn W=CD YMA dnby <ZY LNH BRHr> [l=rvban Wptnam].

With these clear and certain readings a few remarks only are needed. SasMP BRHr must mean the oblique case *pusar* instead of simple *pus*, certainly not Parthian *puhr*. *Pašnām*, *patnām*, *onomatos syntērēsis*; Greek seems to connect *paš-*, *pat-* with *pā(y)-*, "guard, keep," though manifestly *paš* = "after" and *pat* = "further, in addition, beyond," all of which comes in the end to similar results. Parthian (and Sogdian) *zamb*, Persian *damb*, = "shore," perfectly good and straight Iranian, in spite of the tempting, but deceptive similarity with the Semitic word for "tail" (A-H, *MirMan*, III, 13[858], n. 2; Henning, *List*, p. 82); Greek seems to suggest that, like the modern *lab*, it might mean "lip"; more likely it is a derivative or simply an old form of *zam-*, "earth, dry land," retained by differentiation in the specific meaning "shore"; it is not *dum*, "tail," has in fact nothing to do with that word, except that some of its curious forms and vocalizations as early as the Bundahishn may be due to confusion and conflation of the unrelated words. Translation is now so simple as to be almost unnecessary:

"And here, even by (this) inscription, we found(ed) (1) one fire (temple?), named Chusrav-Shahpuhr (Good Repute of Shahpuhr) for our soul (memory) and after-name (name-preservation); (2) one fire, named Chusrav-Atur-Anahit, for Atur-Anahit's, the Queen of Queens', our daughter's, soul and aftername; (3) (Greek: and) one fire, named Chusrav-Ahuramazd-Artakhshatr, for Ahurmazd-Artakhshatr's, Great King of the Armenians' (Armenia's), our son's, soul and after-name; (4) another single (literally "one") fire, named Chusrav-Shahpuhr, for Shahpuhr's, King of Meshan's, our son's, soul and after-name; (5) (Greek: and) one fire, named Chusrav-Narisakhav, for the Aryan Mazdayasnian Narisakhav's, King of India, Sakistan, and Turestan to the seashore's, our son's, soul and aftername."

Narseh's special epithet must be of special significance. Were his and his father's ideas of the organization and development of the Zoroastrian-Mazdayasnian religion and church of their day different from those of Kartīr and his Varahrans? In what way, and to what extent? They appear less fanatically intolerant, and they seem to want the headship of the state church vested in someone near the top of the royal family, if not in the king himself. Narseh's peculiar title may mean that he was even then installed as the Aryan Mazdayasnian pope, though for some time after the death of his father and elder brother he may not have been able to maintain himself in that position. By the time he succeeded in seizing the throne from a brother and that brother's descendants the affairs of the Sasanian church were so altered that Shahpuhr's venture in church politics was nullified and never revived in the same form.

C. ENDOWMENT OF SACRIFICES FOR THE SOULS

1. OF SHAHPUHR HIMSELF

This section, which consists for the most part of long lists of names and titles of the people for whom what we may call masses for the soul (Bthl, *MirSt*, *WZKM*, XXVII [1913], 369-73) are to be celebrated, contains several introductory statements, each with difficulties of its own. Even as written on these stones they constitute pretty clearly a deed of gift or endowment. It is probable that they were entered in a bureau of records on parchment or papyrus as well, and in that form they may have been longer and more elaborate than they are in this lapidary version. The language here is not greatly involved in legal formulas and terminology, and the meaning of its forthright statements can be grasped with comparative ease. Where two or three versions stand side by side, they naturally throw some light on each other. Here the Greek defines one term discussed in opposition to Herzfeld in "Kartīr," *AJSL*, LVII, No. 2 (April, 1940), 205 ff., 213 f., and 218. About this and another term, for which Greek has merely a transliteration, more will be said in the notes on the text. Here we proceed to transcribe first the Parthian:

(In LINE 19) *W LXW MH ZNXn atrvn YNTNm W MH abdyn XQ-
YMWt byš(č) xrv apr ptyxštr KTYBt W MNxv QYN IMILLE MH MN
trkpyšn LYN abdyn-y NXWt W LN ZNXn atrvm YNTNt LXW avpdysym
YK xyp krxyd pty LN arvan YWMA (LINE 20) L YWMA QYN XD LXMA
XD gryv W IIII/ xvpn XMR IIII pas.*

The Greek begins within its line 43 and can be read with practical certainty:

Kai ekeino o toutois tois pyriois pareschometha kai ethos katestēsamen omōs panta (l. 44) eis engraphon tou asphalismatos tēs teimēs egrapsamen kai ap ekeinōn tōn cheiliōn probatōn tōn apo tarkapēsīn ethimōn ēmein ontōn ēmeis toutois (l. 45) tois pyreiois edōkamen kai ekeino ekeleusamen ina geinetai eis tēn mneian ēmōn probaton ēmerision en kai artōn modios eis ēmisys(!) oinou pasatas (l. 46) tesseras.

SasMP is in part sadly defaced and in part badly miswritten, yet we can read and correct its text with a fair degree of safety:

[*WZK MH(?) LZNHšn(?) atrvan YXBWN W]ZYš[an PWN] advyn
XNXTWNT KN(!) KNč KLA MDM patxštr YKTYBWN BL=RA MN
ZK akbl=ryt IMILLE ZY MN ty(or l=r)l=r(or y)kpyšyn W=L LNH
advyn YXWWN WLNH LZNHšn atrvan YXBWN ZK prmayvmy YK yv
kl=ryty PWN LNH l=rvban YVMA W=L YWMA (LINE 25) akbl=ryt I
LXMA g I x IIII XS p IIII.*

Of the Semitic masks a few again need mention. Parthian *ZNXn*, plural of *ZNH*, is rendered in one clearly legible place by SasMP *LZNHšn*, *īmēšān*; the Parthian is *īmīn*. It is interesting to note that for the establishing of a custom the Parthian uses *ištāt*, the Greek *katestēsamen*, SasMP *nihāt*, as we speak of a standing rule and of laying down the law. *LYN* of the Parthian is *L LNH* in SasMP, both *ō amāh*; both occur, also, in the Paikuli fragments

which Herzfeld has published. Parthian *QYN* and Greek *probaton* make it clear that we are dealing with small cattle, sheep, or goats; *akbrūt* makes it clear that for the priests and their rites these must be tender, yearling kids or lambs. *XMR(A)* and *XS* are both defined in *FrPhl* (V, 1/2) as *mad*, *may*, "wine"; Nyberg's identification of the second (*MO*, XVII, 194 and 229) is not borne out by these clear texts, though it may still hold for the third form given in *FrPhl*; Arabic *xuṣṣ* is used for "wine" and *x(h)uṣāṣ* for "grapes left on the vine," and though both have velarized *s*, they may with our Pahlavi point to an older Eastern Aramaic word as here written and meaning "wine." Without in any way wishing to fuse or confuse similar customs among different peoples, it is interesting to note that Jewish and Christian rites for the preservation of the soul or life also use bread and wine, and the Christians ideally, the Jews in actual fact, a yearling, perfect lamb, or kid.

ArsParth abdyn, *SasMP advyn*, and Turfan-Parthian *aavdyn* of Henning's *List* must now be added to the material adduced by Nyberg, *Hb, Gloss.*, page 3; unpublished *Sar-i-Mašhad* is no longer needed to prove his case, which in its own right is incontrovertible. *Patxštr*, Parthian *ptyxštr*, treated in some detail in "Kartīr," as above quoted, here becomes quite clear; these things are as a matter of custom, regularly and permanently, on requisition against the imperial treasury, they are on the imperial budget, which is also what the Greek means, when it says that they are booked in a written document guaranteeing payment. With this the writer abandons the opinion that this word is purely an adjective and reads the little triad of Kartīr, now with a comma and now with a second "and," *gty (W)patxštry Wmatqdan*, "deeds, (or "and") orders on the imperial treasury and records," which may be understood all together as meaning "deeds (consisting of) orders against the state treasury, properly recorded," i.e., deposited and kept in the bureau of records for contractual undertakings, whose clerk or secretary we shall presently meet in Shahpuhr's long list. *Trkpyšn*, especially in view of its variants and the lack of a Greek translation, is to this writer very troublesome; depending on where one seeks the joint of composition, one may analyze etymologically in various ways. What is meant seems to be the regular, daily, imperial handout, the daily expense account of the imperial household. If this is so, and if Parthian is more correct in its form, as it seems to be, then this might be the preposition and prenomen *tar-*, "out," and the Parthian root *kaf-*, "fall," with the abstract ending *-išn*, not a bad combination for "expenses, expense account." How *SasMP* is to be explained, unless by miswriting in this particularly badly written line, is not clear to this writer; may one see in its beginning a badly written *t(a)rō-*, and in the ending an error, which may, but must not be supported by the Greek? Is this, with all the endings, in reality a plural? Is the whole a loan-word? The writer does not recall the word in any definite place elsewhere, although it has to his mind a hauntingly familiar ring. For the ending of the word for "command" one may here add to Ghilain, page 121, under 4b, Henning, *Vb*, §§ 23 ff., pages

232 ff. The two forms of the optative particle, Parthian *xyp* and Persian *ēv*, deserve at least passing mention. The interesting passives of *kr-* are important; SasMP *kryty* is exactly the form found by Andreas in the Pahlavi Psalter (Psalm 127, 4; ed. Barr, pp. 107 and 133 f.) and in *Kartir NRj*, line 5, where Herzfeld's reading is proved wrong and that of Andreas absolutely right (with no need for Barr's doubt) by excellent photographs, made from the cleaned surface by Erich Schmidt's first-rate photographer, Dubensky, whose work also proves Barr right in reading *yaštē* in lines 12 and 15 against Herzfeld's unintelligible *gaštē* in the former and his total misreading of the latter passage; ArsParth *krxyd* gives us for Parthian in the Southwest the passive in *-ih-*, which is not found in the Parthian of Turfan (Ghilain, p. 93). Of the measures this writer knows only the familiar *grīv*, here, as in the Armenian of Matt. 5:15, parallel with the Greek *modios*; Greek "(and) a half" fixes the *xvp* at one-tenth of a *grīv*; Greek's syntax throughout this subsection is a little peculiar and in this nominative in error. And therewith we may proceed to what we hope may be a lucid and acceptable translation of this solemn provision:

"And that which we have donated to these fires and established as a custom is nevertheless also written in full against the imperial budget. And of those one thousand yearlings which have become a regular item of our expense account and are donated by us to these fires we command, as follows: that there should (i.e., let there) be issued (literally: "be made," "be produced") for our soul (memory) day after day one yearling (lamb or kid); one *grīv*, five *hūp* of bread; four *pās* of wine."

"Nevertheless" may be a bit too strong, though it does frequently render the meaning of the Iranian and Greek word used; what is meant is that the gift is fully assured by this statement on stone, but that, nevertheless, outside (Semitic *barrā*) of, or aside from, this it is also entered as an order in the imperial books. This particular endowment, as registered in the inscription, is clearly limited to the five name fires established by the same document. That makes it more than probable that all these fires were at or near the site of the inscription. The detailed assignments, each day one yearling for the king, one for the inner circle of the royal family, and one for the bulk of the retainers, would make ninety-five more than the thousand given *per* year; it will presently appear that the deficit is absorbed by the retainers. Even so they are more fortunate than their Christian counterparts, none of whom have any but an ideal share in the mutton, and some of whom have only an ideal share in the wine as well. So far as the inscription shows the bread and wine went on through the year for all, and the retainers received for the ninety-five-odd days at least the bread and wine's worth of mass for their souls.

2. FOR THE INNER CIRCLE OF THE ROYAL FAMILY

The subsection which now follows, except for some difficulty in some of the names and titles, is very simple. It resumes the "for" from "for our soul,"

sets down a considerable list of names in the possessive case, then repeats the "soul" or "memory" and the materials for the masses with their measures. The persons are, naturally, not numbered in the inscription, as we shall do here (exactly as in the case of the cities and provinces of the Roman Empire above) in order to facilitate their use by interested readers. We present the texts in the usual order.

The Parthian begins early in line 20, right after the enumeration of the materials and their measures for masses for Shahpuhr's soul:

pty (1) *Sasn-y xvtv-y W* (2) *Papk MLKA W* (3) *Šxypvvr MLKA Papkn W* (4) *Artxštr MLKyn MLKA* (5) *Xvranzmyh xštr MLKTH* (6) *Atrv-Anxtyh MLKTHn MLKTH* (7) *Dynkyh MLKTH* (8) *Vryxram(!) Gyln MLKA* (9) *Šxypvvr Myšn MLKA* (10) *Axvrmzd-Artxštr RBA MLKA Armnyn* (11) *Nrysxv Skn MLKA* (12) *Šxypvvr-dvxtkyh* (LINE 21) *Skn MLKTH* (13) *Š(C)šmkyh MRAT-y* (14) *Prgvz BRBYTA* (15) *Mrdvtyh MRATy Šxypvvr MLKyn MLKA* >My (16) *Nrysxv BRBYTA* (17) *Rvddvtyh BRBYT(!)H Anvškyh BRT-y* (18) *Vrazdvtyh Xvranzmyh BRT-y* (19) *Astaxrdatyh MLKTH W* (20) *Axvrmzdk Armnyn MLKA BRy* (21) *Axvrmzd W* (22) *Axvrmzdk* (23) *Avtaybxt W* (24) *Vryxran* (25) *Šxypvvr* (26) *Prgvz Myšn MLKA BRy* (27) *Šxypvvr-dvxtk(y)h Myšn MLKA BRTy W* (LINE 22) (28) *Axvrmzddvxtkyh Skn MLKA BRTy arvan QYN XD LXMA XD gryv W* 1111I *xvvn XMR* 111I *pas*.

The Greek, starting the subsection with the second word in line 46, reads:

Eis tēn Sasanou tou kyriou kai (2) Papakou basileōs kai (3) Sapōrou basileōs Papakan kai (4) Artaxarou basileōs basileōn kai (5) Chornanzēm tēs tou ethnous (l. 47) basilissēs kai (6) Adour-Anaid basilissēs tōn basilissōn kai (7) Dēnakēs basilissēs kai (8) Gouarathranou basileōs Gelēnōn kai (9) Sapōrou basileōs (l. 48) Mēsanēnōn kai (10) Ōrmisd-Artaxarou megalou basileōs tēs Armenias kai (11) Narsaiou Segā(i?)stēnōn basileōs kai (12) Sabourdouktak tēs Segistanō(n) (l. 49) basilissēs kai (13) Tiesmak tēs kyrias kai (14) Pērōzou tou ek basileōn kai (15) Myrrōd kyrias mētros Sapōrou basileōs basileōn kai (16) Narsaiou tou ek basileōn kai (17) Rōd (l. 50) doukt(a)k(ēs?) tēs thygatros Anōsak kai (18) Go(u?)razdoukt thygatros Chornanzēm kai (19) Stariad basilissēs kai (20) Ōrmisdak yiu tou Armeniōn basileōs kai (21) Ōrmisd kai (22) Ōrmisdak kai (l. 51) (23) Odabachth kai (24) Gouarathran kai (25) Sapōrou kai (26) Pērōs(?) tou Mēsanēnōn basileōs yiōn kai (27) Sabourdouktak thygatros tou Mēsanēnōn basileōs kai (28) Ōrmisddouktak thy (l. 52) gatros tou Segistanōn basileōs tēs mneias(!) probaton en artōn modion ena ēmisu oinou passous(!) tessaras.

Though there are still badly defaced and broken areas in SasMP, it follows the parallel versions and its own fixed patterns closely enough to make possible a nearly complete reading with fairly safe emendations, beginning in line 25 after the enumeration of the materials to be devoted daily to the welfare of Shahpuhr's soul:

PWN Sasan ZY MRWXY W (2) Papky MLKA W (3) Šxpvrxy [MLKA] Papkan W (4) Artxš<try> [MLKan MLKA] W (5) Xvl=rnčymy ZY štry MLKTA W (6) Atvl=r-Anxyt MLKTan MLKTA W (7) Dynky MLKTA W (8) Vl=rxl=ran Gylan MLKA (9) Šxpvrxy ZY Myšan MLKA W (10) ᵛVxrmzd-Artxštr ZY L=RBA MLKA Al=rmnan W (11) Nrsxy ZY Skan MLKA W (12) Šxpvrxdvxtky ZY Skan MLKTA (LINE 26) W (12a) Nrsxy-dvxtky ZY Skan ML=RWTA W (13) Čšmky ZY ML=RWTA W (14) Pryvzy ZY BRBYTA W (15) Mr[dvty] <ZY ML=RWTA> [Šxpvrxy] MLKan MLKA ᵛMy W (16) Nrsxy ZY BRBYTA W (17) L=Rvdxvty ZY dvxšy ZY Anvšky BRTH W (18) Vračdvxtky ZY Xvl=rnčym BRTH (19) Stxl=ryat MLKTA W (20) Xvrmzdky ZY Al=rmnan MLKA BRH (21) Xvrmzdy W (22) Xvrmzdky W (23) Avtabxty W (24) Vl=rxl=ran W (25) Šxpvrxy W (26) Pryvzy ZY Myšan MLKA BRHr (LINE 27) W (27) Šxpvrxdvxtk ZY Myšan MLKA BRTHr W (28) ᵛVxrmzdvxtky ZY Skan MLKA BRTHr(?) <l=rvban akbryt I> LXMA g I x 1111I XS p 111I.

It is both unnecessary and impossible to translate this subsection. For the proper names and titles, of which by far its major portion consists, there is for the most part no accepted form in English. The Greek form can easily be found in the transliterated text; the frequently variant Iranian forms have interest and meaning for the rare Iranist only, and to discuss everything in full would consume at least as much space again, as has been dedicated to this entire preliminary publication in journal-article form. Even such remarks, as seem to the writer indispensable or in sufficient measure demanded will be extensive enough.

The beginning will be made, as usual, with the Semitic masks. The difference between ArsParth and SasMP writing of the masks for "King of Kings," "Queen," and "Queen of Queens" is patent to all; what this writer considers Semitic and what Iranian is clearly shown by the use of capitals for Semitic, and, aside from initials of proper names, lower case for Iranian. Herzfeld has noted the difference between Parthian and Persian in the mask for "lady"; the writing of the Persian with *L=R* seems not to have been noted before its occurrence here. To much discussion of *BRBYTA*, *vispuhr*, by Herzfeld, Schaefer, Benveniste, and others our Greek here adds incontrovertible evidence that it means "of the (or "a") royal house, a royal prince." A lady of the same rank is found here in No. 17; ArsParth gives simply the Semitic mask, for whose Iranian equivalent *visduxt* has been known for over thirty from Turfan material, which must be Parthian (Junker, *FrPhl*, p. 103); most valuable is SasMP *duxš-y*, which is used in Turfan MP for an odd, hitherto unidentified class of maidens (A-H, *MirMan*, II, M36V, ll. 2 and 9; Henning, *MBBb*, ll. 226, 259, and 356). It is manifestly not simply "virgin, maiden," as Henning translates, and its explanation is not as simple as Henning assumes in the glossary, *MBBb*, page 110. Our passage is quite clear, though the Greek is lacking; howsoever it may be analyzed or etymologized, it means those

"royal princesses" for whom the Turkish uses the Chinese title *qunčui* (Bang-Gabain, *TTT*, II, 8, l. 64; cf. Müller in the *Thomsenfestschrift* and *Mahrnamag*, *Abh*, *PrAkW*, 1912/13), and this meaning fits well Henning's passages and explains why they are found always in a prominent position both among the hearers and among the elect, a fact which puzzled Henning (*MirMan*, II, 34[325], end of n. 8).

Comparison of the three versions, especially the fairly consistent use of Greek *kai*, enables us now to establish the true count of the persons mentioned with very little uncertainty left over; to facilitate comparison the odd lady inserted in SasMP has been numbered 12a. Numbers 1-4 are well known and are here so fixed that no intrusions from romances are any longer possible. The queens are new. Number 5, "Queen of the Realm," outranks, probably by seniority, even the "Queen of Queens"; she is not the queen mother, named in No. 15, but she may be the mother of the crown prince; her rare name is known outside of this inscription only in Caucasian Georgia and northern Armenia (Justi, *Namenbuch*, under *Ph(=F)arandzem* and *X(=Kh)warandze*; cf. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Personennamen*, p. 101), and that suits well the title of the crown prince. The queen of queens, about whom also all romancing is set at rest, is Shahpuhr's daughter as well as his wife. The third member of his harem is simply queen, as is, perhaps, another later on. Number 8-11 are all known to us as sons of Shahpuhr. The order here seems to be based on seniority rather than rank. Varahran(m) is here mentioned for the first time, and he is a little border king in Gilan in Caspian territory. No noteworthy activity is known for him in that region, as it is for the crown prince. He may be the eldest, but his omission from the name fires and Shahpuhr's own designation of the heirship to the throne related in "Kartir" make it fairly clear that certainly No. 9, and probably all three who follow here, outrank him in Shahpuhr's esteem and probably in the order of succession, as Shahpuhr wanted it. He is the only Gilanshah in this early Sasanian time, of whom we have historical knowledge. There is here no Gushnasp, the name of the great fire of the warrior class or caste, nor is there a Tansar at these early courts. Both names are pure inventions of the wholly apocryphal "Tansar Epistle." The Khudaynameh-Shahnameh, compared with the copious inscriptional material now at our disposal, shows that the Persians had forgotten or lost almost all their real history of early Sasanian times, when the romancing epistle was indited in order to date back to earliest Sasanian beginnings innovating reforms of late Sasanian reigns. If there is in the mystifying little book a bit of historical reminiscence, if Tansar is a mere misreading of Kartir (*ASJL*, LVII, 215), then possibly Tansar's Gushnasp, king of the royal dynasty of Gilan and adjacent lands, contains in his mythical person among other things a hazy memory and clever idealization or buildup of our good-for-nothing Varahran Gilanshah, who together with his son and namesake proved themselves apt pupils and pliable tools in the hands of Kartir, as he fashioned his share in the solid foundation upon which

Mazdayasnian Zoroastrianism was built into the state church, the established church of the Sasanian empire. A part of this religion was kin marriage, and we find the religious Narseh in Sakistan married to his sister (much less probably his cousin), as Shahpuhr himself is married to his own daughter.

The Lady Čašmak is unknown to this writer. The royal princes, who as Nos. 14 and 16 flank the queen mother, are known to us as Shahpuhr's brothers; there is no evidence that either ever was in Khurasan or had anything to do with the Kushan Empire; the name Pērōz differs both in Parthian and in Persian from the Turfan forms. The queen mother is a simple lady without any genealogy to connect her with the Arsacid dynasty. The one royal princess and her father (was her mother Rōd?) are both unknown to this writer. Number 18, daughter of No. 5, is the only queen's daughter mentioned. Number 19 is the one real uncertainty remaining. It has been weighed as the title of No. 18; if that is so, we might read the endings *-dāt*, *-yāt*, "*-dom*," "Stakhrdom's queen." This is unlikely. Greek *kai* speaks against it; SasMP has neither *W* nor *ZY* before it; Parthian *-yh* makes it a personal name, "Stakhr's Gift," the youngest queen in Shahpuhr's harem, given to him on this occasion, whereby he had greatly honored Stakhr.

All the rest are Shahpuhr's grandchildren. This seems to be the status, also, of SasMP's odd No. 12a, unless she is the daughter of Shahpuhr's brother (or of the deity Narseh?), in which case we would know no reason for her title "Lady of the Sacae." Or is she, after all, King Narseh's cousin and wife together, but not at the head of his harem, therefore not queen but lady? Among the grandchildren it is again striking that none of Varahran's children are named, though his son, only four or at most five years after Shahpuhr's death, was crowned as Varahran II and must have been alive and no longer an absolute infant here. The son of the crown prince and the numerous progeny of the Meshanshah seem not to have played any conspicuous role in history. *Avtaybxt* may be *aoxta-i-bart*, "announced of fate, proclaimed of fortune." Narseh's daughter must be named the god "Ahuramazda's daughter." His son Hormizd was not yet born or too small to be mentioned. Some of the members of the royal family are not mentioned here. A number of these are mentioned in one or the other of the subdivisions of the following subsection. No clear principle for inclusion or omission, beside what has been said above, has been discerned by this writer.

3. FOR THE RETAINERS

In the introduction to this last long subsection with its three subdivisons SasMP differs considerably from the other two, which in turn differ from each other beyond the usual measure in their diction. Both here and in the little concluding statement SasMP's variance is important enough to attract attention. The material from here to the end will be presented in five further subdivisions. It may be well to point out once more, as we enter this block of material, from a slightly different angle, that we do, indeed, meet here a large

number of non-Sasanians, but with them a surprising number of Sasanians of remarkable standing.

a) INTRODUCTION

The texts will first be presented in the usual order. The Parthian begins and ends in its line 22:

W LXW QYN MH MN TMH prtš(č)yvd xn-(?)ptyavyd avtyn pty LXWyn arvan MNW LN awpdšt arvan-y Y^cBD(?)ytn W TNH KTYBT XQ^cYMWy(or n)t.

The Greek starts in the last third of its line 52 and runs through three fourths of its line 53 and reads:

Kakeina ta probata aper ekeithen perisseuei eōs exarkes (l. 53) en tosō eis tēn mneian ekeinōn ōn ēmeis ekeleusamen eis mneian autōn mageusōsin(?) kai enthade engegraptai kai synestēken.

With the newly established context and the parallel texts which we now have, SasMP can and must be read in a manner very different from that which this writer with no real context and no clear conception of the whole tentatively suggested, when he had only the sadly mutilated SasMP and made it public property as soon as he was able and in the best manner then at his command, in order that it might be seen and studied and discussed publicly or privately by scholars naturally few in number and widely scattered. The letter symbols remain pretty much the same, but they are now read, beginning at the end of the defaced area of line 27 and running nearly to its end:

[WZK akbl=ryt] ZY apal=ryk ZK W=^cD ptvdat andvm PWN W=^cLHšn l=rvban MNW MLKan MLKA prmaty l=rvban YDBXWNtn Wnamčšty PWN npšty MDM stany YKTYBWN YK=QW=^cYMWNT YWMA W=^cL YWMA akbl=ryt I LXMA g I x IIII XS p IIII.

One set of Semitic masks definitely calls for comment. For the ceremony which is instituted in this section and which we have called soul sacrifices and masses for the souls, we find here three different terms in the three versions. SasMP has the old Semitic word for "sacrifice" in a form older than that of BPhl with *z*; for this *FrPhl* gives us the good Iranian word *yaštan*. Greek has its troubles with this term, for which it does not use its *thyein*, "sacrifice"; instead it uses *mageuein*, "to perform a (or "the") Magian rite," in a form that issues (after false starts?) in an Aorist subjunctive third plural, not good Greek syntax, but intelligible; it may have tried for an abstract in *-ōsis* as a substitute for the infinitive used in both Iranian texts. The Parthian mask is puzzling; the most satisfactory solution to this writer's mind is the one given in the transliteration, to be read in Parthian as in line 19, *karihītan*, "to be magized, (rite) to be performed," which may explain the hitherto unsolved Avestan term for a class of non-Zoroastrian priests, *kar(a)pan-*; the only other possibility, if it is a possibility, would be to read the mask here in quite un-Parthian fashion *YK=QRBytn*, *yazītan*, for which only Armenian *yazem* might be adduced as evidence of possible existence. Parthian *havīn* for Persian *avēšān* may be mentioned in passing.

For "remain, be left over" there are again three different terms, Parthian and Greek being both verbal, while SasMP uses an adjective. Greek is clear. Parthian may be analyzed as a preverb *fra-* or *para-* with the verb *tak-*, present *tača-*, causative *tāčaya-*, and the curious *u* found in verbal endings in Turfan; "to (cause to) run, flow forward, beyond," like our "be superfluous," is "to remain over." *Apārīk* in this sense is well known in Middle Persian, and this, rather than Nyberg's guess (*Hb, Gloss.*, p. 14), may, indeed, be its original meaning. The following words are a fine problem. Their meaning is clear: "until they are completely used up"; the expression varies, the most transparent Greek saying: "until it has sufficed for so much." SasMP tries to stay near *ArsParth* in its sound and word order and produces a curious effect. Parthian is probably best represented as one highly complex word *xnptyavyd* following by the simple *avtyn*; *hmpd*, most often with *-č* attached, is found in both Persian and Parthian at Turfan, *ham*, "same," *pad(y)*, post-positive, "upon, along," "similarly, correspondingly," *y/āvid*, "continuing, without interruption," not here "eternal," or, barely possible, Henning's *yad δ* (*List*, p. 89) in reverse order *ōyad*, "until"; *avtyn*, parallel to MP *andum*, is a superlative of *avatha*, ending in *-īn*, *-ēn*, like *pasēn*, *pēšēn*, etc., (*Bthl, ZairWb*, p. 151; *WZKM*, XXX, 3 f.; *MirM*, V, 9 ff., the plural being a close relative of the superlative), "thus-est, to the utmost, to the end." SasMP arrives at the same result by a similar succession of sounds with very different meanings; *hān*, "that, those," *tāk*, *tā*, (not represented in Parthian), "until, unto," *patvidāt*, "distributed" (!), *andum*, "the so-much-est, the utmost, the end." The *pitvadātandar* which the writer believed to see here vanishes, but good and fitting sense, a little oddly expressed, remains. Briefly indicating the variants we translate:

"And those yearling lambs and kids which (thence) remain over, until completely used up (continuing in similar fashion), (are) for the souls (memories) of those for whose souls We (the Shahanshah) have commanded the rite to be performed and who here are written (and listed in order"; SasMP: "and who by name in (this) inscription in (this) space are written").

A few words more are needed for SasMP. *Nipišt*, here, as above, is clearly this inscription. *Stān*, "place, space," was suggested, rightly or wrongly, for his reading of a passage of the Sakanshah inscription, preliminarily published in *Paikuli* (p. 121), by Herzfeld (*Gloss.*, No. 740, p. 227); here it fits well and can hardly be questioned. *Andum* was found and completely fumbled by Andreas and Henning in *MirMan*, I, 30[202], dIIRII, 7, and *Gloss.*, page 34[206], imperfectly solved by Henning, *MirMan*, II, 4[295], 126IR, 11; 19[310]; 278V, 3; 46[337], but, though listed in the glossaries right under *and*, never fully understood as its proper MP superlative in *-um*. As the text shows, SasMP further eases the unwieldy construction of Parthian and Greek: "for X's (and) X's, X's, etc. soul (memory) so much," by simply stating the quota for them here at the end of this little introduction and at the head of all three subdivisions of the names and titles which now follow.

The people now listed by name and frequently by title evidently count less in Shahpuhr's estimation than he himself and the inner circle of his family enumerated in the first and second subsections. How the priests distributed their 270 yearlings over the 365 days of the year, we do not know. Nor do we know much about the ceremony here so heavily endowed, called "performing rites, magizing, sacrificing for the soul (memory)." There seems to be little or nothing about or of such a ceremony in the church and home liturgies which make up the Avesta as now published. The writer has not at present the time to look through the faulty editions of the Dēnkart and the mass of other Pahlavi literature for it. What Inostrantsev and Bartholomae say about it in the places above referred to is so little that it adds almost nothing to what we have here. Though the results might be disappointingly small, this would make an excellent subject for a dissertation by an extraordinary candidate for a Doctor's degree.

It would make no sense to present the three subdivisions which we now approach, as in the preceding portions, each section as a whole in each of the three languages. This makes sense for the brief headings only, which differ slightly in the SasMP.

b) THE NOTABLES OF PĀPAK'S RETINUE

Parthian: *MNW apr Papk MLKA xvtvyp-y N(Y?)XWt XWYN*:

Greek: Tōn epi tēs Papakou basileōs despoteias yp (l. 54) arxantōn:

"Of those who subsisted under the rule of King Pāpak:"

SasMP: *MNW MDM Papky* (l. 28) *MLKA YXWWN*:

"Those who were under King Pāpak":

(1) P(arthian): *Sasn Avrnvkn*; G(reek): Sasanou tou Arnēk (or g)an; MP: *Sasan ZY Avl=rsykan*

G for the father's name may be Gouarnēgan. The variants in the name of the father are too great and the resultant possibilities too many to be discussed here; it may be an internally condensed hypocoristic. "Sasan kson."

(2) P: *Prdk Prdkn*; G: Pharrek Pharrikan; MP: *Pl=rdky ZY Pl=rdkan*

The Greek is valuable for the actual pronunciation of Shahpuhr's time, which clearly does not always correspond to a more or less archaic or archaizing orthography. These names themselves of Pāpak's time seem in part to be of an older pattern, becoming antiquated in Shahpuhr's rapidly moving, "modernizing" reign. We read this with the Greek: "Farrek Farrikson." This name, the same for father and son, as well as the father's name in No. 1, may be found after a fashion in Justi's *Namenbuch*; but nothing very satisfactory is presented there, for it is sadly in need of revision, especially in view of the mass of new material just now coming to light. Our names are hypocoristic forms in *-ak*, just as many of the names, especially of the women in the royal family were hypocoristics with the Parthian form of the ending *-yh*. The use of hypocoristic forms is at all times and everywhere current, but not many documents of its kind contain so many, as does this inscription.

(3) P: *Vrtrgnpt Xvrkn*; G: Goarthanipat Ōrikan; MP: *Vrtgnpt ZY Xvl=rkan*

The man's name is perfectly transparent, but of great interest nevertheless. This good old Avestan form of the god, force, or fire is not common in Parthian. Armenian *Vahagn* shows the *g* still present, but *t=th* is already displaced by *h*, and both *r*'s have disappeared, when the Armenians in their tongue began to write that form of the name. Greek shows that this *g*, though written, was not pronounced at Shahpuhr's court, and the second *r* has disappeared from both SasMP and Greek. All this is neither proper Parthian-Armenian nor Sogdian nor Middle Persian, of whose common *Varahrān* or *Varhrān* Syriac has preserved a somewhat older *Warathrān*. But our form does appear in some guise in widely separated times and places. As *Artagnes* it appears about fifty years before the Christian Era far to the West on the well- and long-known monument of Antiochus of Commagene. Then Benveniste in his excellent and famous study with Renou (*Cahiers de la Société asiatique*, III [Paris, 1934], esp. 84) shows that the Kushans, whose empire was definitely destroyed by our Shahpuhr, wrote *Orthagnes*, and in Bērūnī's time the Chorazmians still said *Artaghñ* or *Arthaghn*. And now we find the form *Varthagn* in early Middle Persian at the court of Shahpuhr's grandfather Pāpak at Istakhr, and the Greek vouches for a pronunciation *Varthān* at Shahpuhr's court. Just as an aside this gives pause to too hasty judgment on the derivation and meaning of the Parthian *Vardān*'s in the middle of the first century A.D., and the combination with *-pat* here raises further doubt as to the *Vardapet*'s, quite otherwise interpreted by popular etymology even as early as this inscription, as will appear a little later. A neat little nest of problems lies here for a diligent, interesting, and valuable dissertation. The writer hesitates to say what this combination here really means; most probably "master or warden of a great and most holy Varahran fire." A further question is, whether this form, omitting the second *r*, does not mark men and regions of doubtful Mazdayasnian orthodoxy, and, together with the consistent omission of the epithet *mazdēsñ bag* from Pāpak's titles, strengthen the indication that his descendants considered him in their sense unorthodox, which may be the major reason for his elimination from what they want considered as their true ancestry in the *Kārnāmak-i-Artaxšēr*. The father's name is brief and looks simple, but it is tricky, as Justi's disquisition on *Khurakān-Farruxān* and other names beginning with *Xōr-*, *Xur-*, demonstrates.

(4) P: *Aspvrk Aspvrkn*; G: Aspōrik Aspōrigān; MP: [*Aspv . . . Asp . . . n*]

Like father, like son, and here is the name of the castle, pillaged on Shahpuhr's first raiding campaign; but these are very probably neither its builders nor its possessors, merely their namesakes. By no means a common name in the times we know, it has an archaic ring; Justi apparently knows no occurrence of this particular form after the fourth century A.D.

(5) P: *Pvxrk Mrtynkñ*; G: Pōrik Merdigan; MP: *Pvxrk ZY Ml=rtyñkan*

A fine tangle of problems. The name is clear and easy as it stands; it is a hypocoristic diminutive of Parthian *puhr*, "child, son," perhaps originally the first part of a compound, but used for a name by itself also, just as MP *pus*, *pūs*, seems to be; the use of the name here takes from various later uses of the name *Pūrak*, Arabic *Fūrak*, the stigma of a simple loan of all these names from the Alexander Romance, which Justi seems to place upon them. The father's name reminds one strongly of *Martiya-*, the Persian rebel against Darius the Great, whose name itself appears to be a hypocoristic abbreviation. What does the additional *n*, certain in Parthian and very probable in MP, mean? The name seems to be rarely used, no other occurrences being known at this time to this writer, unless the curious name of a Persian general, listed from the Armenian only in Hübschmann, *ArmGr*, page 54, under, but not of No. 116, and by Justi, pages 203 and 217, be the same as our Greek or related to it.

(6) P: *Zyak Nyvdpty*; G: Zig tou Dipnoklētoros; MP: [*Zyak*] ZY *Adnyk*

Here is the only title named for Pāpak's small, provincial court. On the name one may refer, beside Justi, to Hübschmann, *ArmGr*, page 41, No. 72; Christensen, *L'Iran*, page 99, note 3; Herzfeld, *AMI*, IV, 57, note 2, at the bottom of the page. The title is new, interesting, and apparently fairly common at these early Sasanian courts. The Greek, more often *deipnoklētor*, leaves no doubt as to the meaning, "the dinner-caller, -inviter," which, I hope against hope, will not again bother too literal-minded students or scholars. The Parthian has been mentioned above and the difference of its first element from Turfan pointed out. MP, likewise, is not desperate, since Bartholomae (*ZairWb*, pp. 41, 100 f., 181; *MirM*, I, 31 ff.) taught us to recognize *adēn*, now also found in A-H, *MirMan*, II, 44[335], and Henning, *Vb*, page 167. Is it possible that our *adnīk* or *adnayak* is not from *ati* plus *i* plus *ēn* (causative), but directly from *ati-nay-*, "lead unto"? The writer has the uncomfortable feeling that in the desperately hurried and long pull of this work he has lost a note on *adnyk* as the inviter and exhorter to participation in sacrificial meals.

(7) P: (LINE 23) *Šxypuxr Wyznkn*; G: Sapōrou Goue(i?) zē (corrected to a?)nigan; MP: *Šxpvxy ZY Vyčnykan*

For the father's name a reference to Justi's Wēžan will do for the present.

(8) P: *Šxypuxr Mtrbvznkn*; G: Sapōrou Meerōzi (l. 55) nēgan (the second *r* seems to be tampered with, as though one were trying somehow to connect a *b* with it; *i* after *z*, at the end of l. 54, is doubtful); MP: *Šxpvxy ZY Mtl=rvč<n>kan* (the second *n* is doubtful, but probable).

The father's name is found in Justi as Mithrobouzanēs (p. 209), under which among sundry variants we find in a seal-inscription *Mtrūčan*, corresponding to our MP here.

These eight are all the men of Pāpak listed here. With them we must include, as of Pāpak's time and court, his father Sasan and his son Shahpuhr, both mentioned with the inner circle of the royal family above, and his mother,

wife, and daughter, all of whom are assigned to Ardashir, the daughter appearing there most naturally as Ardashir's Queen of Queens by sister-marriage. Toward these we now advance, as we present

c) THE NOTABLES OF ARDASHIR'S RETINUE

P: *MNW apr Artxštr MLKyn MLKA xvtvyp-y(?) Y(N?)XWt XWYN:*

G: *kai tōn epi tēs Artaxarou tou basileōs basileōn despoteias yparxantōn:*

MP: [*W? MNW*] *MDM Artxštr MLKan MLKA YXWWN:*

The first of these are four kings, subordinate to Ardashir, all in Iran, thus giving him his title, "King of Kings of Iran" (or "of the Aryans"). It is altogether probable, as Nöldeke surmised, that Shahpuhr inherits his first war against Rome from Ardashir. It is fought well to the eastward, with the Romans distinctly off their preserves in northern Assyria. It is worthy of note that along the entire Tigris-Euphrates region and through Armenia to the Caucasus Ardashir has here no subordinate kings, such as exist in Shahpuhr's time. There is here, likewise, no king of Gilan, of the Kushan Empire, of Turan, Makuran, and India. Unless Shahpuhr is misrepresenting the true state of affairs, which, aside from a little shading in his own favor, we have no good reason to suspect, Iranshahr in Ardashir's time was not very large, scarcely larger than present Iran, if as large. The true founder of the greater Sasanian Empire is Shahpuhr I, under whom the boundaries of the organized realm extended farther to the east, north, and west than at any other time except for Chosroes Anoshirvan's brief adventure southwestward to the Yemen and Chosroes Parvez' fitful and ill-organized expansion westward, which did, indeed, for a few brief years reach pretty well the utmost limits of Achaemenian rule in the west.

Of Ardashir's royal Iranian subjects the first is a curious figure:

(1) *Satrp Aprynk MLKA*; G: *Sataropt(?) Abrēnach basileōs*; MP: *Stal=ropy ZY Apl=rynk MLKA*

Herzfeld has the Parthian form in *Paikuli* (*Gloss*, p. 223, No. 706), but that will be usable only after a reliable edition is published. The first name which must be identified here is that of the country whose king this man of the odd name is, Aparīnak, according to the Greek pronounced Abrīnakh. The three initial letters, the neighboring lands and peoples (Marv, Kirman, and Sakistan), and a valuable little note found by Markwart (Marquart) in the Bundahishn-Zendākāsh (Provincial Capitals, p. 52, § 15) leave little doubt on that score. In one of the valuable scholia tucked away in the turgid mass of its theologizing myth and legend, the Bundahishn (ed. Anklesaria, p. 233, ll. 14/15) says in so many words: "This Aparshathr (of an ancient time) is said to be *Aprnkštr*." The ending *-ak*, or *-īnakh*, appearing in the inscription in place of *-shathr*, *-shahr*, may be left to students of Sogdian, Sakan, and Kushanite. It may be little more than our Western *-ia*, *-nia*, *Aparnia*.

But what is the name of its king? For this, one cannot rely upon Herzfeld's elaborate imagination, but even less upon Justi, whose material is antiquated,

insufficient, and misleading. His Satarpa(r)nu and Sitirparna from the Assyrian must with Cameron (*Early History of Iran*, pp. 154 and 173) be read Satarpanu and Shidirparna. Further, aside from their remoteness in time, for any lasting influence in the region of Tūs the Assyrians, as we see clearly in Cameron, did not penetrate far enough eastward, not beyond Patishkhwar under the shadow of Mount Demawend, nor did they on their horse-stealing raids stay long enough to teach the natives their pronunciation and orthography of Iranian words. Quite different is the case of Justi's Satrabates, listed by Justi as dating back to the time of Alexander the Great. Here we are upon solid ground; here we have an influence that penetrated far enough east and stayed fixed long enough, and with it Nöldeke's emendation, Satropates, listed by Justi, is interesting. The Greek in our inscription has Sataropt (the last *t* a bit doubtful), i.e., *Sataro-pat*, and in this case the Greek offers us a more reliable and intelligible original than do the Iranian versions, which are mere, rather clumsy transliterations of words originally written in Greek letters. This is Iranian written in Greek letters after the manner then in vogue in the Kushan Empire. It writes the ancient *khshathr*, not in the manner of western Old Persian *khshathra*-(*pāvan*), but like the northeastern Avestan, *khshathrō*-. We have here, as so often from Greco-Roman through Arab times in these far-off regions, an old and strange-sounding title, used or mistaken for a proper name. Abarshahr, southwest of the Oxus, within Persia-Iran, is a Kushan border-kingdom in late Parthian-Arsacid times; it is apparently a correct historical reminiscence, not an error, that the Manicheans (A-H, *MirMan*, II, 2R II, p. 12[303]) place the Kushan border-watch on the western frontier of Khurasān. Another curious and garbled version of a similar historical reminiscence for the time of Bahram V (420-28 A.D.) is found in a title preserved in Tabari (Nöldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 99 and 102 f.; Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, pp. 52 f.; Christensen, *L'Iran*, pp. 131 f.). Indeed, far later, in the time of Chosroes II (A.D. 615/6), Western historians still named this region the land of the Kushan and its king the king of the Kushan (Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, pp. 66 f.; Christensen, *L'Iran*, p. 442).

Now a contemporary document gives us a glimpse of the verities behind these curious reminiscences, and in it we see the Kushan Empire crumbling in senile decay and coming to an end. It may be Kushan, perhaps Kushan-Zervanite, influence that brings the curious Varthagn-pat to the court of Pāpak; not that the Kushan Empire in any sense extended thus far or sent him there, but that, as it crumbled, its men went out to find employment at such courts as Pāpak's, rebellious against the decaying Arsacids and "on the make." (On *Vrtrgn*-, found in the Parthian of *Paikuli*, l. 7, pp. 96 f., Herzfeld has a long statement, *Gloss*, Nos. 314 f., not very safe and probably in need of revision with a new reading; it is thus of little use here as against Benveniste's pp. 81-90!) After Pāpak's venture into the kingship his son Ardashir subjects, or there submits to him, not the whole Kushan Empire, as Herzfeld assumes, but its border kingdom or province within Iranian bounda-

ries. Its ruler, Sataropat, "Lord of the Land," enters the new Sasanian organization as king of Abrīnakh-Aparshahr under the king of kings, Ardashir. Then Shahpuhr deals the deathstroke, finishes off the Kushan Empire and incorporates it in its entirety in his Iranshahr.

If the religious note which we seem to sense is truly heard, that may help to explain why Manicheism, using much Zervanite language and not a little of its thought, penetrates so easily, so early, and so far into this northeastern Zervanite territory, and why in its confessional Khuastuanift it carries even into Uighur Turkish its polemic against unmodified Zervanism, as Schaeder has seen. Perhaps, too, it helps to explain, why a favorite and especially religious son of Shahpuhr, Narseh, the "Aryan Mazdayasnian," is installed as king to the southward in this Far East, in Hind, Tūrān, and Sakistan.

Kushan names and coins cannot here be discussed in full; but the two coin-types, of Pērōz (never so written in this early time), Great Kushan Shah, and of Ōhrmazd, Great Kushan Shahanshah, must be treated briefly, because they have wrought havoc with history, as we now see it clearly. The ascription of the Pērōz coinage to the brother of Shahpuhr I was first made by Marquart (*Ērānšahr*, p. 49) and rests, like many of Marquart's constructions, on clever combination of bits of slender evidence: the odd coin, the name, its connection with Mani, and Manichean connections with this territory, all of which Herzfeld in *Paikuli* presently treats as certain fact. Neither our inscription (royal family, No. 14), nor *Paikuli*, nor anything else of early time spells Shahpuhr's brother so, nor do these ever give him the title of the coin or give reason to believe that he ever held that title or resided in or even visited the Kushan Empire. For the Cunningham gold and copper coins, curiously, Marquart (*Ērānšahr*, p. 50) starts a series of ascriptions with Hormizd III (A.D. 457-59) and arrives through Hormizd II (A.D. 302-9) only at Ormies, an otherwise unknown brother of Bahram II (A.D. 276-93), mentioned in a panegyric in far-off Rome. Without ascribing the coins to him, Marquart assumes (*Ērānšahr*, pp. 48-49) that the title of our crown prince Hormizd (-Ardashir) must have been Kushan Shahanshah. Herzfeld completes the cycle by ascribing the coins to our crown prince and spreading broadcast as fact Marquart's pure assumption that early Sasanian crown princes all bore this title. This elaborate construction vanishes into thin air with the coming of our text.

Now it becomes necessary to find a better place for the coins and their names and titles. Aside from the coins, the title "Great Kushan King" is mentioned by Ibn Khurdādbih (ed. De Goeje, p. 17) as the first among those, "whom Ardashir named kings," a curious list at best, by our text pertaining to Shahpuhr rather than to Ardashir, and probably contaminated with other and later materials and notions as well. Numbers 7-9 in that list correspond to three of the four kings here mentioned under Ardashir, but Aparīnakh-Aparshahr seems to be missing, unless it is hidden under No. 6 and its variant reading. Now it is quite probable that titles like "Great King," or "Great

King of Kings of Kushan," were in use, when the Kushan Empire flourished. Drouin's guess, when he had the Pērōz coin alone, that it belonged to an actual late Kushan king, not otherwise known, remains quite as respectable as the guesses of Marquart-Herzfeld. On the other hand, the combination of the two names, Peroz and Hormizd, designated in Sasanian fashion as Mazdayasnian gods, is striking. Those two names occur in close connection at the top of the royal family twice in Sasanian history: in this earliest time, for which our text excludes for them the titles of the coins; and with the sons of Yazdgerd II, Hormizd III (A.D. 457-59) and Peroz (A.D. 457 or 459-84). That date may seem late for the style of the coins, as Drouin says; but it is worthy of note, both, that the Kushan name persists in the northeast long after the dissolution of the empire *and* that precisely the fifth century marks an archaizing revival of names and titles pertaining to the Kushans in the Sasanian Empire. Referring for the source material for short to Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pages 52-60, we can say, that we find Baram V Gōr (A.D. 420-38) fighting against what are probably Chionites on his northeastern frontier and installing as border watch against them his brother Narseh with the title *marzbān-i-Kūšān*; then Yazdgerd II (A.D. 438-57) spends almost his entire reign in the attempt on this northeastern frontier to subdue and conquer once more "the Kushans," at that time probably the Kidarites; finally, with these Kidarite Kushans precisely the quarreling sons of this Yazdgerd, Hormizd III and Peroz, play around in extraordinary and not altogether transparent fashion. Now, since all this activity points to a revival of archaizing names with claims to territory and sovereignty, why is it not possible that this Peroz and this Hormizd laid claim to the titles of the coins and struck them in an archaic style, not yet gone wholly out of fashion in this Far Northeast? If the style of the coins does not altogether forbid this—and that style seems at best a bit mixed and uncertain—this is at least as likely, and with our inscription at hand a far more reasonable assumption, than are those which Herzfeld's not wholly warranted prestige, resting more largely than is generally known on the very learned but unsafe Marquart and the bold Hertel, has sown like weeds into the "history" books.

And now to proceed, we find under Ardashir just three more kings, all named Ardashir, who may as well be presented together.

P: (2) *Artxštr Mrgv MLKA* (3) *Artxštr Krmn MLKA* (4) *Artxštr Skn MLKA*

G: Artaxarou Marou basileōs Artaxir Kerman basileōs Artaxir Sigan (l. 56) basileōs

MP: *Artxštr ZY Ml=rvy MLKA Artxštr ZY Kl=rman MLKA Artxštr ZY Skan MLKA*

No. 3, according to Tabari, is the son of Ardashir I and Shahpuhr's brother, a fact not mentioned here, anymore than Varāhran, the Gilan Shah, above was described as Shahpuhr's son. Of the origins of Nos. 2 and 4 we know nothing. The Greek registers a curious difference in pronunciation, not

hinted at in either Iranian, for the names of Nos. 3 and 4; the kingdoms are all in transcribed Iranian rather than in Greek.

Three women follow, two queen mothers and one queen of queens.

(5) *Dynkyh Papk MLKA ³My*; G: Dēnik Pabakou tou basileōs mētros; MP: *Dynky ZY* (line 29) *Papky MLKA ³My*

(6) *Rvtykh Artxštr MLKyn MLKA ³My*; G: Rōdakēs tēs Artaxarou tou basileōs basileōn mētros; MP: *L=Rvty ZY Artxštr MLKyn MLKA ³My*

(7) *Dynkyh MLKTHn MLKTH Papkn*; G: Dēnakēs basilissēs basilissōn Papakan; MP: *Dynky ZY MLKTHn MLKTA Papkan*

Again Greek makes a curious difference between two ladies, named alike in Iranian writing. Number 7 is a sister-marriage, though the Greek does not translate Papakan; Ardashir's sister and queen of queens is not the mother of his crown prince and successor Shahpuhr.

We now leave royalty behind. The nobility is probably listed in a descending scale, which seems to be a matter not merely of titles or functions but also of personal or family ranking, the exact nature of which escapes us. The titles on which little or nothing can be added to what is gathered in Christensen's *L'Iran* will not be commented on. Everyone can see that this *notitia dignitatum* adds considerable in quantity to what we had before and displays with a fulness and clarity never heretofore attained the composition of these early Sasanian courts from the simplicity of Pāpak's provincial palace to the fulsome splendor and complexity of Shahpuhr's imperial court.

(8) *Artxštr Bytxš*; G: Artaxer(!) Bidix(!); MP: *Artxštr ZY Bytxšy*

(9) *Papk Xzrvpt*; G: Pabakou Azaropt(!); MP: *Papky ZY Xzal=rvpt*

(10) *Dyxyn Vraz*; G: (l. 57) Dēēn Gorazou; MP: *Dyxyn ZY Vrač*

The name seems to be a hypocoristic abbreviation of a compound, whose first element is *dyx*, *dēh*. The second may be the father's name, a family, or an epithet or title.

(11) *Sasn Svryn*; G: Sasan Sourēn; MP: *Sasan ZY Svl=ryn*

Sūrēn is the well-known, ancient family-name. The head of a noble clan?

(12) *Sasn Andykn Xvtyv*; G: Sasan Indēgan Despotou; MP: *Sasan ZY Andykan MRWXY*

Andikān cannot be the personal name noted in Nöldeke, *Tabari*, page 286, note 2; Hübschmann, *ArmGr*, page 18, No. 6; Justi, under Andigan. It must be a place name, though that entails a serious problem. The only Andikān known to me is in Farghana, well to the east of Tashkent (Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 478). On the map in Barthold's *Turkestan* it is the eastern terminal of a Russian railway, which in G. Krist, *Allein durchs verbotene Land* (Vienna, 1937), is shown extended eastward to Osch (Ush, Osh), less than one hundred miles from the northwestern frontier of "China." Bretschneider in *Mediaeval Researches*, II, 255 and note 1056, speaks of Andekan-Andigan as "a little realm"; he knows it as a city in Farghana, at times its capital, at times applied to the whole of Farghana. If this is the city or province of which this Sasan is "lord," that might be interpreted to mean that Ardashir's inroads on the

Kushan Empire in the northeast had actually reached this distant point. On the other hand, with the aging Kushan Empire crumbling, it may mean a defection of this lord from his allegiance to the Kushan government, perhaps in some sense bringing his territory with him, at all events placing his person and a body of retainers at Ardashir's disposal. The use of Andīgān as a personal name among Armenians and Persians, as noted by Nöldeke (*loc. cit.*), is in at least one instance a bit odd. What does Shapūr-Andijān mean? Is there, possibly, another locality of that name farther west, perhaps in Armenian territory? Or had this title become a sort of hyphenated family name?

(13) *Prgvz Krn-y*; G: Pērōz Karēn; MP: *Pryvzy ZY Kal=rny*

Karen is a counterpart of Suren. The man's name, as here handled, is very interesting. The Greek here agrees exactly with the MP common noun "victor" at Turfan (A-H, *MirMan*, II, 64[355]; *MBBb*, p. 114); Olaf Hansen reads the name in Late Sasanian papyri as *Pyrvč*. Our SasMP agrees most nearly with the Turfan Parthian word for victory (A-H, *MirMan*, III, 60[905]), except for the final letter, which may here, after all, be read as ž. Nothing is found in Turfan like our Parthian, whose explanation is left to the linguists.

(14) (ArsParth, LINE 24) *Gvk Krny*; G: Gōōk Karēn; MP: *Gvky ZY Kal=rny*

As the name of a Karen this must be Iranian, and as such it must be a hypocoristic abbreviation of a compound beginning with *gav-*, *gō-*, "cattle."

(15) *Apvrsam Artxštr-Pr-y*; G: Aboursam Artaxarouphr; MP: *Apvrsan ZY Artxštrprry*

This man is known to the Arab historians as an early companion and high official of Ardashir (Nöldeke, *Tabari*, pp. 9, 12, and 21, n. 4). MP's final *n* is of interest. He has not here the title and office given him by Tabari, but an honorific epithet of the kind listed in passing in Christensen's *L'Iran*, pages 404 ff. This one means "Ardashir's glory" and is in form Parthian with OP *farnah-*; more truly MP would be *xwarr*. The pronunciation is indicated by the Greek. SasMP seems to be practically Modern Persian *farr*, written with two *r*'s. In pronunciation there was hardly any great difference.

(16) *Gylman Dnbavntš(č)*; G: Gēliman apo Doumbaou(e?)nd; SasMP omits and seems to indicate the omission by a curious *caret*-hook at the bottom of the final *y* of the preceding word, a mark noted but not understood in its probable value in the initial publication (*AJSL*, LIII, No. 2 [January, 1937], 132), in the line there counted as 28. In the Greek the questioned *e* seems to be crowded in, after having been omitted. Dunbavand is, of course, the great Mount Demavend in the north of Persia-Iran, or a city or region named after it; the ending is the equivalent of the Greek *apo*. The man's name appears to be a derivative from near-by Gilan, the place or folk name being *Gēlum*, as in Armenian (Hübschmann, *ArmGr*, pp. 34 f., No. 48, on which our form throws

new light), the ending *-ān*, gentilic (Salemman, *GirPh*, Ib, p. 279, § 50, No. 11v). Such folk names or gentilics are rather common as proper names, especially at courts full of mercenary soldiery.

(17) *Rxš Spadpty*; G: Ro(s?) Spapitou; MP: *L=Rxšy ZY Spaxpt*

Title and function are well known; the variant spellings with the simplified pronunciation indicated by the Greek are all according to Hoyle, no longer to be considered as older and more recent developments of the same original, as in Hübschmann, *PSt*, page 198, § 92a, but Parthian (in Turfan with *c=i* before *sp*) and Middle Persian. *Raxš* is known to Justi only as the name of Rustam's charger and as such may not be the worst name for a tough old warhorse of a general.

(18) *Mard Dpyrvpt*; G: Mard Di(corrected to a?)biroupt; MP: *Mrdv(?) ZY Dpyrvpt*

MP is probably a miswriting for *Mrdy*; the last letter of the name, as it stands might be read as *k*. For the Greek the essential facts are given above; again it shows unmistakable *-pt*, where we would expect a vowel between the two consonants. On the name, Justi has all that is needed. The scribe or secretary in chief appears to rank right after the army.

(19) *Papk Nyvdpty*; G: Pabak tou (l. 58) Deipnoklētoros; MP: *Papky ZY Adnyk*

(20) *Paš(č)xr Vysprkn*; G: Paz(corrected to x)ērou Gouasperigan; MP: *Pvkčtry ZY Vspl=rykn*

The second element of the name is almost certainly *čih*r, *čith*r, "lineage, descent"; the whole seems to mean "of pure, noble lineage." The first element appears oddly reversed, Persian *pāk* in ArsParth, and Parthian *pvk*, Turfan *pvag*, in SasMP. The father's name, hardly an epithet or title, points to a very noble lineage or connection, though the well-worn *-per-*, *-pur-*, may indicate that it is of a long past, or perhaps of Armenian, rather than of Persian origin (cf. Hübschmann, *ArmGr*, pp. 80 f., No. 182; *AJSL*, LVII, No. 2 [April, 1940], 208 ff.). The clearly variant spellings, *Vis-*; *Gouas-* and *Vs-* = *Vas-*, indicate that at this court the distinction between *vispuhr* and *vaspuhr* was not as nice as among modern linguists, philologists, and historians, on whom one may see for short Christensen's *L'Iran*, pages 95 and 522 f.

(21) *Vyprd Prdkn*; G: Ouipher?? tou Ouipherigan; MP: (LINE 30) *Vypl=ry ZY Pl=rdkan*

The manifold variants may mean an old well-worn name. Greek may be Ouipherou, agreeing with MP. By the Greek we have like father like son; the difference in Iranian is not great. By the Greek *d* is not pronounced. Can this be derived from or related to ancient Eparna (Cameron, *History of Early Iran*, p. 173; Justi, p. 141)? Let the linguists decide!

(22) *Mtryxvšt Bryskn*; G: Merchouastou tou Berēsigan; MP: *Mtrxvst ZY Bl=ryskan*

The son's name, not listed in Justi, is transparent. The father may furnish

a parallel to the Barissēs of Ktesias, but there are also other possibilities, which need not detain us here.

(23) *Xvmprdat Madkn-pty*; G: Choumaphrat Maiganped; *Xvml=rat ZY Madkanpt*

The Greek, now using a vowel in the form it gives to *-pat*, writes no *t* at the end, but makes one *d* do service for the end of this and the beginning of the next word. Aphraates, Phradates, the omission of whose *p* by SasMP is a patent error, is well known; what is *Xvm-*? Haoma? Hūmāy? *hom-*? Something altogether different? The title can hardly mean a "lord of Medes" or "master of wise men"; he may possibly be "keeper or guardian of original records"; most probably he is, making it a little more dignified to avoid straining susceptibilities, "Lord-Keeper of the Mares," i.e., the royal stud.

(24) *Drn Zynpty*; G: Dēran tou Zēnipit; MP: [*Dl=ran ZY Zynpt*, rather uncertain]

For the name Justi's Deren may serve as a starting-point for the student. The title in a form which will not wound susceptibilities may be "Lord Chief Armorer"; literally, let us say, warden of weapons with all the rights and privileges and a fair amount of graft thereto pertaining.

(25) *Š(Č)xrk Datbr*; G: Tzerik tou Dikastou; MP: illegible

Hypocoristic of a compound, beginning with *čih*r. The judge's rank is not very high, about as in the FDR setup.

(26) *Vrdn Axvrpty*; G: Ouardan tou epi tēs pathnēs; MP: illegible

Sorry, but I really cannot do better than "Lord Overseer of the Stables."

(27) *Mtrk Tvsrkn*; G: (l. 59) Meerik Tousserigan; MP: *Mtl=rky ZY Tvsr=rgan*

The father can hardly be "Head of Tūs-Tōs," so that Tansar-Tannasar might after all be Tōs(s)ar; he is probably a Tokharian, pronounced after the manner of India, as noted by Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pages 200 and 239.

(28) *Zyak* (or *Zzak*) *Zbrkn*; G: (S?) Zēk Zabrigān; MP: *Zyzky ZY Z* (like *n*)*pl=rkan*

A troublesome lot. The simplest way out for the first name is to equate it with Pāpak's No. 6 and assume a miswriting for SasMP. Persons named very like the patronymic in late Sasanian and early Moslem times are known to Greek, Syriac, and Arab historians. In Avestan *zafar-* and *zbar-* are both daēvic, but *Zbaurvant-* is the name of a good Zoroastrian.

(29) *Sg(or k)ps Nxš(č)yrpty*; G: Sagbous tou epi tou kynēge (crowded) si (sigma written through iota to look like psi)ou; MP: *Sgp* (identifiable only by the parallel versions) *vsy ZY Nxšyrpt*

The name, Persian, not Parthian, in all versions, means "Dogson," in Iranian honorable and an excellent name for a "master of the hunt."

(30) *Xvty(?)k Grstpty*; G: Chou??nik tou epi tēs annōnēs; MP: *Xvt[vky] ZY Gl=rstpt*

The name is too uncertain in the writing of all three versions to permit of

any analysis with a feeling of safety. The meaning of the title is made absolutely clear by the Greek. Parthian shows that MP's $l=r$. Can he in Iranian be master of *grist(ak)*, "caverns," the cavernous storage-places used in western Asia for the grain harvest? Or can *grst* be "barley, grain in general," the word treated in Hübschmann, *ArmGr*, page 432, No. 87? The function was probably much the same as that of the later *jihbid*, *kahbad*, which seems to substitute straw for grain. These officials must have done much weighing, so that one wonders whether this *grst* can have anything to do with modern *garastūn*, *garastūdan*, "scales, apparatus or place for weighing," especially for great weights.

(31) *Z(Y?)axyn Mdy(?)dr*; G: Dieēn tou epi tou oinou; MP: *Y(?)adyn [ZY XS]dal=ry*

Except for the Greek the name's first sound cannot be identified with absolute certainty. Perhaps Avestan *yah-*, BPhl *jah-* and *zahīdan*, as developed by Nyberg, *Hb*, *Gloss*, page 116, might give us the first element of a compound name, which would account for the various initial sounds and produce a name fitting for the keeper of the wine.

Pāpak's eight men and the thirty-one persons who graced the court of Ardashir are now followed by sixty-six more who are

d) THE NOTABLES OF SHAHPUHR'S RETINUE

In introducing them SasMP again differs notably from the other two.

P: *MNW apr LN xvtvpy N(Y?)XWt*

G: *kai tōn ypo tēn despoteian ēmōn gegonotōn*

MP: *MNW MDM Šxpvxy MLKan MLKA YXWWN*

At the very head of the section of which this is a subdivision MP replaced "we" and "our" by the title "the Shahanshah." Here MP goes even further, replacing "our sovereignty" by the full name and title "Šahpuhr, Šahan Šah." Was Shahpuhr, then, of the past, just dead, as this last long list of names and the clipped half-sentence at its end were hurriedly finished in this MP version, perhaps under the supervision of the rising Kartīr, at that time still *herbedh*, at the head of a priestly school? This is, of course, not certain, but neither is it impossible nor improbable. Kartīr knew Shahpuhr's last will and testament with a clause or two in his favor, may, indeed, have written these last instructions to the crown prince, or, at least, helped to formulate them. He would use just the terminology here used and be in just this hurry to approach the young king of kings, under whom presently he really starts his great lifework, the welding in his own way of the Zoroastrian community and religion into a rich and strongly organized state church. Incidentally a comparison of the MP of Shahpuhr here with Kartīr lower down here, on the rock of Naqš-i-Rustam behind the figure of Shahpuhr and his horse, and at Naqš-i-Rajab show a distinct development in several types of SasMP writing, with which Kartīr's school would seem to be connected. Of the fourth Kartīr

inscription at Sar-i Mashhad nothing can be seen or said until Herr Herzfeld publishes what he has. Here it should be said that this statement is based on excellent photographs of all the material compared, all by the photographer Dubensky of Dr. Erich Schmidt's staff.

As in the case of Ardashir, so for Shahpuhr as king of kings the notables of his retinue first named are kings.

(1) *Artxštr Ntvšrkn MLKA*; G: Artaxarou basileōs (l. 60) tēs Adiabēnēs; MP: *Artxštr ZY Ntvšt* (possibly with an attempt to correct into *yl=r*, with which the following letter would have to be read as *v*) *rkn*

The identity of the territory is clearly established by the Greek, though that was hardly necessary, except for the oddities in the writing of both P and MP. The name has been treated above. This king seems to be unknown hitherto. Markwart (-Messina), *Provincial Capitals*, has its faults, but it gives us the most complete information attainable about kings of Adiabene under the Sasanians. Ibn Khurdādhbih lists under "those named kings by Ardashir" a Nōr- (miswritten *būdh*, for *nōdh* or *nōr*) Ardašīrān Šāh, and says that this means Mosul. Tabari (Nöldeke, p. 20) mentions as a city built by Ardashir in the territory of Mosul Būdh-Ardashir and identifies it with Hazza, derived from the old name which in Greek became Adiabene. When the conflation of the Sasanian name of our territory with the name Ardashir took place, this writer does not know; it must have been after the time of this inscription, but with the oddity of the name and with various Ardashirs lying around loose in this region it is intelligible. Toward the end of the fourth century Ardashir II had been king of Adiabene, before he rose to the greater position. Whether this man here belongs to the Sasanian family and if so, in what manner of relationship, is not known. In rank he is placed before the Kirmanshah of the same name, who seems (unless this be still another) to be the same brother of Shahpuhr, who occupied the same post under Ardashir and has already been mentioned there, only to be repeated here as

(2) *Artxštr* (LINE 25) *Krmn MLKA*; G: Artaxarou basileōs tēs Kirmanzēnēs; MP: *Artxštr ZY Kl=rman MLKA*

Why the Greek varies here from its Artaxir and Kerman under Ardashir, while the Iranian versions are identical in both places, escapes this writer's acumen.

(3) *Dynkyh Myšn MLKTH dstkrt Šxypuxr*; G: Dēnakē(s, crowded after omission) basilissē(s, crowded after omission) Mēsōn dastikirt Sapōr; MP: *Dynky ZY Myšan MLKTA dstkl=rt Šxpvxy*

A sufficiently curious statement. Is she identical with any one of the other three women of the same name who have been mentioned? If she is Shahpuhr Mēšānšāh's wife, why was she not mentioned with him? Is that Shahpuhr dead and she his relict? Is she Shahpuhr's "handiwork" or creation, because created queen by him after her husband's death? Is this Mēšān Shahpuhr's creation, and why this, if not the other of the same name above? Why does

Greek's form vary once again, though the Iranian does not? There seems to have been no king or kingdom of Meshan under Ardashir I notwithstanding their inclusion in Ibn Khurdādhbih's list, which certainly lumps together the subject kingdoms of Ardashir I and Shahpuhr at the very least.

(4) *Xmzasp Vyrš(ē)n MLKA*; G: Amazaspou tou basileōs tēs Iberias; MP: *Amčspy* (*py* oddly written) *Vl=rv* (or *y*) *čan* (LINE 31) *MLKA*

It may be that the curious *-py* in MP is intended somehow to include the missing *ZY*. The name is known in the royal family of Iberia since Trajan's day, as may be seen in Justi. Justi, with Hübschmann, *ArmGr*, page 47, No. 94, shows it penetrating into Armenia, but it seems never to have penetrated into Iran proper. This king is an addition to our knowledge.

(5) *Vlgšy BRBYTA Papkn*; G: Ouallassou tou eg basileōn yiou Pabakou; MP: *Vrdxšy ZY BRBYTA ZY Papkan*

In the form with *-lg-* this is a prevaillingly Parthian name, though in general *l* for *rd* is Persian against Parthian (Tedesco, *MO*, XV, 205, § 15). Many later Parthian kings bear this name, including a brother of the last one. Justi and Hübschmann, *ArmGr*, page 79, No. 178, give most of the occurrences of the Parthian form with the most necessary older references. Without definite study and no attempt to look for earlier attempts, the writer suggests that this appear to him a development from Avestan *varadaṭ-gaēdā-*, "he who makes the world prosper." This one is a *vis-* or *vas-puhr*, "a royal prince." He is a son of Pāpak (this time translated in Greek), probably a late-born son, apparently named after a favored Parthian king or prince; he thus appears to be an uncle of Shahpuhr, not otherwise known.

(6) *Sasn BRBYTA MH pty Prdkn XXSNT*; G: Sasanou tou eg basileō(n) (l. 61) tous Parikan traphentos; MP: *Sasan ZY BRBYTA ZY* [*PWN Pl=rdkan dašt*]

Tous in Greek seems wrong, perhaps short or an error for *tou (ei)s*, written in full with his companion, No. 7. The end of *traphentos* is disturbed, with some miniature writing over the line in a desperate attempt to insert an omitted *eteros*. Because the same or very similar terms are used for him, we proceed before further comment to

(7) *ᵀXRN Sasn BRBYTA MH pty Ktwkn XXSNT*; G: (*eteros*) Sasanou tou eg basileōn tou eis (this, too, is disturbed; *e* may, as often, be written for *s*; *is* seems written into a half-deleted *ki*, which is the beginning of the following word) Kidoukan anatrappent(os? omitted, or crowded to invisibility on the rough surface); MP: [*ᵀXRN Sasan ZY BRBYTA ZY*] *PWN Ktwk[an d]ašty*

Two Sasans, royal princes, not otherwise known, but probably Sasanians. *Prdkn*, whose affairs are handled by No. 6, has or have occurred several times before. There is, apparently, no title in Iranian to describe the function of these two. They "have, hold" (Parthian: *dirt*; Persian: *dāšt*), i.e., as Greek shows, "manage, care for" "what pertains to" the affairs of a person or

group, according as one reads the name in the plural or singular, Greek with a mere transliteration being of no help. For *Katūkān*, *Kidoukan*, whose affairs are managed by the second of these Sasans, Justi has nothing of value. They can scarcely be "cats," more or less Egyptian and Semitic in any case, and not honored with the dogs by the Iranians. The *gydyg*, "astrologers," of Henning's *List*, pages 84 and 91 f., offer a distinct probability.

(8) *Nrysxv(y?) BRBYTA Prgvzkn*; G: Narsaiou tou eg basileōn Pērōzi-gan; MP: *Nrsxy ZY BRBYTA ZY Pl=ryvzkn*

Perhaps a son of Shahpuhr's brother.

(9) *Nrysxv BRBYTA Šxypvzrk*; G: Narsaiou tou eg basileōn Sabour-gan; MP: *Nrsxy ZY BRBYTA ZY Datspl=rxyrk*

The MP variant seems to be a mere miswriting. The father is hardly the Shahanshah; he may be his paternal uncle.

(10) *Šxypvzr Bytxš*; G: Sapōr Pitiaxou; MP: *Šxpvzry ZY Btxšy*

(11) *Papk Xzrvpt*; G: Pabakou Azariptou; MP: *Papky ZY Xzal=rv(y?)pt*

The same name and office is found under Ardashir, No. 9; both follow hard upon a *bitaxš*, under Ardashir of a different name.

(12) *Prgvz Asppty*; G: Pērōzou Aspapidou; MP: *Pryvz(y?) ZY As* (corrected from *m)ppt*

The last two *p*'s in Parthian are small, slender, crowded, but clear. The title is found in Hübschmann, *ArmGr*, page 109, No. 67. It must be something other than the stablemaster and the master of the mares or stud under Ardashir. The rank is higher, perhaps as in Armenian a knight or count.

(13) *Artxštr Vraz*; G: (l. 62) Artaxar Gouraz; MP: *Artxštr ZY Vrač*

(14) *Artxštr Sryn*; G: Artaxar Sourēn; MP: *Artxštr ZY Svł=rjn*

(15) *Nrysxv Andykn* (LINE 26) *Xvty*; G: Narsaiou Andēgan Kyriou; MP: *Nrsxy ZY Av(r?!)ndykn MRWXY*

(16) *Artxštr Krn-y*; G: Artaxar Karēn; MP: *Artxštr ZY Kal=rny*

For Nos. 13-16 the family names or titles are exactly like the same succession under Ardashir, Nos. 10-13; the names are all different, three named after Ardashir. Greek's rendering of these names and the one sure title is curious.

(17) *Vxvnam Prmtr*; G: Goannamou Epitropou; MP: (LINE 32) *Vxvnam ZY Prmtar*

The Greek writing of the name and rendering of the title are both worthy of note.

(18) *Pryak Vxy-Antyok-Šxypvzr Xštrp*; G: Phreikou Goue-Antioch-Sabōr Satrapou; MP: *Pryvky ZY Vxy-Ank(!)yvk-Šxpvzry Šštrp*

This is the first satrap. There are none under Ardashir. If the first man in Ardashir's list had, indeed, been something like a satrap in the Kushan Empire, though he is a *-pat* rather than a *-pavān*, under Ardashir he was a "king." On the town and its province a reference to Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pages 27 and 145, and to Le Strange, *Lands*, page 238, under Junday Sābūr,

will suffice here. The name is a hypocoristic abbreviation of one of the Avestan names beginning with *Frāy-* or *Frē-*, perhaps Thraētaona, early become Frētōn. Was the governor's territory all of Khuzistan or a smaller district around his metropolis?

(19) *Srytvd Šxyxmst*; G: Strēdō Saimoustou; MP: *Sl=rtlyvd ZY Š[xym]<vs>[t]*

A sufficiently odd set with each of the three versions going its own way in the name, on which Justi's Srīt, Thrit, Thrita, may start the student off. The second word may well be an honorific epithet like those in the two names following this one. *Šxy-* may well, as in *Šxypvxxr*, be Shah! The second element may be half-a-dozen different things, choice between which is here left to the linguists.

(20) *Artxštr Artxštršnm*; G: Artaxar Artaxarisnoum; MP: [*Artxštr* (almost illegible) <ZY> *Artxštršnm*]

(21) *Paš(č)xr Txm- Šxypvxxr*; G: Pazēr Tam-Sabour; MP: *Pvkčtry ZY Txm-Šxpvxry*

(22) *Artxštr Gvdmn Xštrp*; G: Artaxar Gōman Satrapou; MP: *Artxštr ZY Gvdmn Štrp*

Can this be Sogdia? See Avestan *gava-*! Much recent debate on the Gōpatshah and the like cannot here be canvassed. This writer is frankly puzzled, since *gaw-* or *gava-dāmāna-* seems too obvious.

(23) *Š(Č)šmk Nyv-Šxypvxxr*; G: (l. 63) Tiasmik Ni-Sabōr; MP: *Čšmk ZY Nyv-Šxpvxry*

Not the name of a city, but the honorific epithet of the man: "Hero of Shahpuhr."

(24) *Vxvnam Šxypvxxršnm*; G: Goannam Sapōrsnoum; MP: *Vxvnam ZY Šxpvxršnm*

(25) *Tyrymtry Xštrkrt Dyzpty*; G: Tirmer Sarakartōn Kastellophylakos; MP: *Tyrmtry ZY Štrkrty Dzpty*

The first and only baron or lord of a castle, for which see Hoffmann, *Syr. Akt. pers. Mārt.*, pages 270 ff. Hoffmann's theory on the origin of the name is not confirmed.

(26) *Zyak Nyvdpty*; G: Zik Deipnoklētoros; MP: *Zydky ZY Adnyk*
MP's *d* for P's *a* is its common redundancy.

(27) *Artbnw Dvnbavntš(č)*; G: Artabanou tou apo Toubbaountōn; MP: *Artvan ZY Dvnbavnžy*

(28) *Vyndprn Abk(g?)n Rzmyvd W*

(29) *Papyš(č)* (LINE 27) *Prvz-Šxypvxxr Šnbytkn*;

G: G(o?)undipher Abgan Risma(y?)ōd kai Pabis Pērōsabōr Sonbedēgan;

MP: *Gvndpl=ry ZY Advkan Papyky ZY* (LINE 33) *Pryvz-Šxpvxry ZY Šnbytkn*

The only pair coupled with "and" in this entire section. MP omits the "and" together with the title before it. Parthian *vi-* with Persian *gu-* is per-

fectly regular. The name suits the man's profession. For Abgan, Avgan (MP with redundant *d*) the writer can think of nothing better than the modern Afghan. The title or function, inadvertently(?) omitted by MP, suits such a man perfectly, *razmyōdh*, in Turfan *razmyōz*, "Stirrer-up to Battle" (Ghilain, p. 64 with its references); he may have been his tribe's chief, poet-singer, or priest-medicineman, perhaps all three together, before he entered Shahpuhr's more lucrative service (cf. Hübschmann, *ArmGr*, p. 69, No. 153). The second name, a diminutive, suits the same profession as well. The epithet indicates aid to Shahpuhr in the matter of victories, probably by singing them. For the father's name one may compare the multitudinous Sumbats in Justi and Hübschmann, *ArmGr*, pages 295 f., No. 36, the derivation of whose name from Sabbath is certainly wrong, and Justi's Šanbudh, for which Justi's derivation is probably also wrong, though it suggests aptly enough a *majnūn šā'ir*. More probable with our context is a derivation from the word met in Turfan Parthian in the form *Šnng*, and meaning "harp" (A-H, *MirMan*, III, 62[907]), with *pat*, *bed*, "master," "Harpmaster's son." Involuntarily one is reminded of the *sabbekā* in Dan. 3:5, and the Greek *sambykē*, though there may be no real connection.

(30) *Varzn Gab(y?) Xštrp*; G: Gouarzin Gē Satrapou; MP: *Val=rč(ž)n ZY Gdy Štrp*

We cannot stop over the name, though Justi's Warzan is unsatisfactory. If Gōdmān was Sogdia, this cannot be. Isfahan suits all requirements for this satrapy.

(31) *Krtšrv Bytxš*; G: (l. 64) Kirdserō Pityaxou; MP: *Kl=rtsl=rvby ZY Btxšy*

The name is new. It looks simple, as though it meant "Deed-teaching, Deed-singing." The apparent simplicity is probably deceptive. Title and office belong to Armenia.

(32) *Papk Vysprkn*; G: Papakou Ouisperēgan; MP: *Papk <ZY> [Vspl=rkn]*

(33) *Vlgšy Sylvkn*; G: Oualasou Slōkan; MP: *[Vr]d[ax]šy ZY [Slvk]an*

The father, though not so recognized by the Greek, is almost certainly Seleucus; cf. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, page 225, No. 724.

(34) *Yazdpt MLKTHn Xndrzpty*; G: Iēsdibad Basilissōn Andarzabid; MP: *[Yaztpt] Banykn Xndrč(ž)pt*

The man's name is sufficiently unusual to be striking, "god-lord, god-warden"; or can this be the city Yazd? The title is well known, and it is not surprising that queens and great ladies should have a counselor-in-chief in the empire. Rather surprising is the variance in terms for the highborn ladies, about the reading of which there can be no doubt. Parthian and Greek, neither furnishing the Iranian word, unmistakably name queens; SasMP just as clearly has *bānīkān*, which may be a real variant or a mere careless writing of the regular *bānūk*, and in any case can only mean "ladies," not "queens."

(35) *Papk Spsydr*; G: Papakou tou Spathophorou; MP: *Papky ZY Špšyl=r(d?)al=ry*

Christensen immediately recognized the title, now clear in P and G; one can now see MP's crowded writing as indicated.

(36) *Nrysxv Rnd Xštrp*; G: Narsaiou Rind Satrapou; MP: *Nrsxy ZY L=Rndy Štrp*

If Rind is not Rēwand, the northwestern "quarter" of Aparshahr, the writer has at present no other recourse.

(37) *Tyank Axmtn Xštrp*; G: Tianik Amedan Satrapou; MP: *Tydank ZY Axmtan Štrp*

The name is new and unusual; it looks Armenian, rather than Iranian.

(38) *Vrdpt Prškpty*; G: Goulbad tou epi tēs yperēsias; MP: *Vrdpt ZY Pl=rstkpt*

The Greek is most instructive; it clears up the pronunciation and popular etymology of the name and leaves no doubt as to the meaning of the title and function.

(39) *Yvdmrt Rstkn*; G: (l. 65) Diōmerdou Rastigan; MP: *Yvdml=rty ZY L=Rstkn*

The name is new; Justi's *Yōčmand* may be a misreading of this name, incised imperfectly on a seal; for *Yōd-* see *Rzmyōd*, above, No. 28. The patronymic is built on a base, which looks as though it had passed through the Armenian mill, if Justi on Rostakes can be trusted.

(40) *Artxštr Vyprdkn*; G: Artaxarou Guipherigan; MP: *Artxštr ZY Vypl=rkn*

(41) *Apersam-Šxypvzr Drykn Sarr*; G: Aboursam-Sabōr tou epi tōn Driganōn; MP: *Apersan ZY Šxpvxry ZY Dl=rykan Srdar*

It may be that Nos. 40 and 41 together, in spite of their inordinate length, designate but one individual. Number 41 is an epithet rather than a name, though something like it did appear above under Ardashir as a name. Just before the epithet at this point there is in MP a hole in the stone, where another of its liberally sprinkled *ZY*'s would make it absolutely certain that all this belonged together. In the entire series there is nothing that is new or difficult except the title at the very end, and that is by no means insoluble, though the Greek could not translate, but only transliterate, because the Byzantine court and its elaborate ceremonial was not yet in existence. It must be something very like the *darīkpet* in Adharbaijan in late Sasanian times, which a Byzantine translates by *kouropalatēs* (Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, pp. 112 and 113). This man was "Hofmeister, master of ceremonies, chief of the protocol," who knew and managed all matters concerning the proper ranking of all those who came to court or were there.

(42) *Nrysxv Brdkn*; G: Narsaiou Barrēgan; MP: *Nrsxy Bl=rdkan*

There is not much comfort in Justi's names under *Bar-*; another job for the linguists.

(43) *Šxypv̄xr Nrys̄vkn*; G: Sabōr Narsēgan; MP: *Šxpv̄xry ZY Nrsxykn*

(44) *Nrys̄v* (LINE 28) *Grstpty*; G: Narsaiou tou epi tēs annōnēs; MP: (LINE 34) *Nrsxy ZY Gl=rstpt*

(45) *Ax̄rmzd Dpyrpty*; G: Ōrmizou tou Archigrammateōs; MP: *X̄rmzdy ZY Dpyrpt BRH X̄rmzdy ZY Dpyrpt*

This is probably the writer of the inscription in Parthian. MP tries to give him his full honors, but errs with not unusual negligence.

(46) *Nadv̄k Zyndnyk*; G: Nadōk tou epi tēs phylakēs; MP: *Nazv̄ky ZY Zyndanyk*

Prison-master, chief warden of penitentiaries, *not* "Lord Chief Armorer," as has been suggested. The name is a "pretty" one for this function; *nādh-*, *nāz-*, like *yōdh-*, *yōz-*. Justi did not recognize the equation. One wonders whether Nāzūk, chief of police in Baghdad, who died in 932 A.D., was not a lineal descendant. If the writer's European colleagues and their *quondam* or *quasi* European *confrères* will not forgive him for making a little light of these court functionaries and their titles, then nothing remains but to cast himself on the mercy of the gods; perhaps Zeus and the Olympians will show a little understanding.

(47) *Papk BBypty*; G: Papak (l. 66) Thyrourou; MP: *Papky ZY Dl=rpty*

With the versions beside each other no further explanation is needed.

(48) *Paspr̄d Paspr̄dkn*; G: Paspherd Paspherdigan; MP: *Paspl=ry ZY Paspl=rykn*

A very different word was used for the man in charge of wine in Ardashir, No. 31. Neither that word nor any other for that or a similar function is to be found in Shahpuhr's list, unless it be this one. The first element of this compound looks exactly like the measure for wine in the great donations of victuals. Can this be an Iranian relative of German *Fass*, English *vat*, for which Kluge, *Etym. Wb. d. deutsch. Spr.* (7th ed.), gave as a pre-Germanic form *podo-*, with an interesting Lithuanian variant? It would, of course, here not be a barrel, but a jar or skin, hardly as little as a cup. For the second element the writer knows at present no really tenable solution. The best that can here be offered is that here, as in another instance or two, name and function may coincide or overlap, and a meaning "Vat-steward Vat-steward's son" may not be far from right.

(49) *Abdḡšy Dyzp̄tkn*; G: Abdagas Dēsbēdigan; MP: *Adḡx̄šy ZY Dzptykn*

A good enough Parthian name, known from coins and Western authors, given by Justi as Abdagaeses or Abdagases, remarkably like our Greek. He may or may not have been of "marvelous sagacity"; perhaps, being a baron's son, he did not need to be. The writing of MP is at best curious; *g*, as often, looks like *a*; from it the Parthian could scarcely have been safely guessed. The meaning suggested may be just a bad witticism.

(50) *Krt̄yr Ax̄rpty*; G: Karteir Magou; MP: *Krt̄yr ZY Ayx̄rpt*

He is by now an old acquaintance, *AJSL*, LVII, No. 2 (April, 1940), 197-228.

(51) *Rstk Vxy-Artxštr Xštrp*; G: Rastak Gue-Artaxarōn Satrapou; MP: *L=Rstk ZY Vxy-Artxštr Štrp*

Perhaps the father of No. 39. Is the satrapy Bardasīr, Guāsīr, in Kirman, Nöldeke, *Tabari*, page 10, note 3; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, page 307, emending page 30, line 25; *Provincial Capitals*, § 40 and note, page 91? Or is it Bahurasīr, Markwart-Messina, *Provincial Capitals*, § 52 and note, pages 102 f., cf. Nöldeke, *Tabari*, page 16, note 3?

(52) *Artxštr Bytxškn*; G: Artaxarou Pitixigan; MP: *Artxštr ZY Btxškn*

(53) *Mtryxvšt Gnzbr*; G: Meerchouast Ganzophylakos; MP: *Mtrxvst ZY Gnzvbr*

The treasurer's rank is not high; perhaps, as in our experience, justly so.

(54) *Šxypvyr Prmtr*; G: Sapōrou Epitropou; MP: *Šxpvxy ZY Prmtar*

(55) *Arštt mtrn pty prvrtk SPRA*; G: Astat meeran epi epistolōn; MP: *Arštat ZY Dpyr ZY mtran ZY MN l=rdy*

The name is given by Justi under Aštāt. In the interpretation of his function Greek deserts us at a crucial point by transliterating. For the P and MP the writer can see only one tenable interpretation: "contracts, for the preservation, the secretary," "secretary of contracts, who (is) for the sake of, for the care of." The expression seems strained and awkward, and that is not helped much by the fact that once more the name fits this job. Greek may be emphasizing the written documents.

(56) *Sasn Špystn Sasnkn*; G: Sasan (l. 67) Eunouchou Sasangan; MP: *Sasan ZY Šapstn ZY Sasnykn*

The first eunuch. The Greek leaves no doubt as to the meaning. Hübschmann, *ArmGr*, page 211, No. 472, is just as nearly right as Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, page 245, No. 999, and just as wrong. The word for the royal harem is used to designate the eunuch.

(57) *Vrvd Vaš(č)rpty*; G: Ouorōd Agoranomou; MP: (LINE 35) *Vyrvd ZY Vačal=rpt*

For the name Justi's Hurauda is interesting; his Nos. 7 and 8 show men at Palmyra bearing this name, written as here in the Greek, merely adding a Greek ending, and they are of just about this time.

(58) *Artxštr Nyryš(č) Xštrp*; G: Artaxarou Nērēz Satrapou; MP: *Artxštr ZY Ngl=ryč Štrp*

Cf. *AJSL*, LIII, No. 2 (January, 1937), 142.

(59) *Bgdt Vrdptykn*; G: Badou Goulibēgan; MP: *Bgdt ZY Vl=rdptkn*

The Greek is again both interesting and instructive.

(60) *Krtyr Artbnv*; G: Kirdeir Irdouan; MP: *Kl=rtyl=r Artvan*

Titles never stand first in these lists. Epithets sometimes do. MP uses *l=r*, as it did not in No. 50. Greek is likewise different, and here very near the common noun *kyrdyr* of Henning's *List*, page 84. Both Iranians write the two

words closely together. So we may have here "Artaban's hero," as we had Nēv-Shahpuhr before. Not all Parthians became "refugees" in Palmyra. More found themselves better off at Shahpuhr's court.

(61) *Zrvandt Bndkn*; G: Zarouandat Bandigan; MP: *Zrvndat ZY Bndkan*

A Zervanite, who is a slave's son? Of the Kushan orbit? Of the west or northwest? Justi is interesting on this name. Slaves' sons rose to high position not only in Rome and the Moslem world.

(62) (LINE 29) *Vynar Sasnykn*; G: Guinnar Sasangan; MP: *Vndar ZY Sasnykn*

Justi has none of the forms of this name precisely as here. The last letter in the Parthian might be read as *d*; that of Greek as *t*; MP can be only *r* or *v*.

(63) *Manzk Špystn*; G: Manzik Eunouchou; MP: omits

A truly Persian name? Several possibilities are offered by Justi, none good; the best have *ǰ* or *ž* rather than simple *z*.

(64) *Sasm Datbr*; G: Sasanou Dikastou; MP: *Sasan ZY Datbry*

Another judge who does not rank high.

(65) *Vrdn Našptkn*; G: Ouardanou Naspadigan; MP: *Vrdan ZY Nvr(or rv)ptkn*

The patronymic is mysterious. It would be the height of disloyalty with our radio experience to suggest that P and MP, weighed against modern *nāš-* and the *nʾryšn* of Henning's *List*, page 85, make this man a master-crooner's son. My good but somewhat literal-minded foreign colleagues would certainly not understand this or misunderstand it. Or could it be the "complaint-master," the man who heard and soothed the complaints of "the masses"? Or must we for the present give it up for a bad job?

(66) *Vrdk Vrazpty*; G: Ouar?dik Gora (l. 68) zibid; MP: *Gulky ZY Vl= račpt*

The variation in the name, this time in MP, is of considerable interest. It may shock some readers, but this man is nevertheless "boar-warden" and may have needed his "roses." Such titles after a time become honorary, and their awesomeness increases, as their actual value increases in emptiness. Here the gentleman was probably still actually very much on the job, as were his colleagues.

And thus we finish off the 66 (possibly 65) people under Shahpuhr, the 31 under Ardashir, and the 8 under Pāpak, 105 or 104 in all, from "kings" to "hog-masters," who must content themselves with what is left of Shahpuhr's yearlings, after the demands of His Majesty and the 27 or 28 favored members of his family have been met.

In Parthian and Greek this list is followed by the summary apportionment of the materials for their welfare, which in MP preceded the list. It reads:

XDtbn QYN XD LXMA XD gryv W 1111I xvpn XMR 111I pas

omou probaton en artou modion ena ēmisī oinou pasa(t)ous tessares

XD, "one"; *tbn*, what? Can Parthian here be writing *-vb-* as in MP?

And can one fall back on Sogdian *dāwan* (Gauthiot-Benveniste, *Gram. Sogd.*, II, p. 122), which is *ati, ad*, plus *avana*? Could *aiva-ati-avana* produce Parthian *ēvatavan* to mean "in one altogether," as does Greek *omou*? The linguists have the floor.

The closing peroration is oddly curtailed in MP. In Parthian it reads:

avs š(č)vgvn LN apr yaztn ŠBW W krtkn-y twššym W yaztn dskrt XWYm W pty yaztn adyvrpy ZNH awnt xštr YBt W XXSNt ŠMH W TBpy cBDt LXWš(č) MNW BATR MN-y LN YXYH W pryw XWYt LXWš(č) apr yaztn ŠBW W (LINE 30) krtkny twššyvd >YK yazt adyvr YXYHnt W dskrt cBDWnt.

Greek: *nyn ōsper ēmeis epi tēs chreias kai thrēskeias tōn theōn spoudazomen kai tōn theōn ktisma esmen kai eis boēthian tōn theōn tauta panta ta (l. 69) ethnē ezētēsamen kai kateschamen kai (!) onoma kai andreian epepoiēsametha kakeinos de ostis meth ēmas estai kai eutychēs estai kakeinos epi tas chreias kai thrēskeias tōn theōn spoudasatō ina oi theoi boēthoi (l. 70) autō esontai kai dastikirtēn eautōn poiēsōntai.*

The Greek is odd, but intelligible. For Parthian but few notes are necessary. *avs*, in Turfan *>vs*, is exactly Greek *nyn*. *ŠBW* in its meaning is fixed by the Greek. Its initial letter is Parthian *š* very like *x*. This is MP *hēr*; Turfan Parthian drops the *h*. *Krtkn* is fixed by Greek in the meaning "religious services," not "establishments." With this we can translate:

"Now, as we are diligent in the affairs and service of the gods and (as) we are the handiwork of the gods, and as by the gods' help we attacked and conquered all these kingdoms (and) accomplished fame and heroic deeds, may he also, who shall be after us and shall have become fortunate, be diligent in the affairs and service of the gods, so that the gods may be of aid to him and make him their (own) handiwork."

MP omits just about half of this statement, starts with "him who comes after" uses Kartīr adjectives in the comparative, perhaps significantly, but reverts curiously to "We" and "Us," as it formulates in its own way:

>YK MNW >XR LNH MRWXY YXWWN ZK yztan xvpl=rstall=ry W xvkamktl=ry (!) YXWWNd >YK W =cLHč yzty ZNH avgvn xdbry (with mark of error or caret, as noted above) YXWWNd čygvn LNH YXWWN.

The one really difficult word is *sdbry*, which, as Henning questioningly saw, can now definitely be said to be this scribe's attempt to write the word which the Pahlavi Psalter in Barr's edition writes in Ps. 123:8, *xdybal=ryxy*, on which one will do well to see Barr's note in the glossary. The Parthian word, with its abstract ending, will be found above. We translate briefly:

"(We have done and given all these things?), in order that whoever after Us becomes lord, that one may be more well-serving and better disposed to the gods, so that to him also, this one(?), in like manner god may be a help, as he was to Us."

With more time more could be done. Replicas of the Parthian and the

excellent photos of these, made under controlled light, clarifying and corrective of those made by sunlight from the original, came to hand, so that they could be used for the latter part of this work only. Something more will, no doubt, be added in proof. Whatever may escape us in our urgency, these photos, published herewith, will serve to correct. Now, for more than one reason, it is urgent that this text with these notes and readings be publicly fixed.

One of the chief reasons for the urgency of this publication lies in the fact that the writer as editor of this *Journal* is "under fire." He writes as a scholar of his day and time. All living science and knowledge is to him an affair of its day; the objectively eternal is a meaningless abstraction. The writer has always expressed his opinions and judgments, both in matters concerning his "science" and in affairs of his day, as he believed they threw light on historical data or vice versa, clearly and freely. As long as his country is not in a declared state of war, he considers that both his right and his human duty. When his country, rightly or wrongly, foolishly or wisely, declares itself at war, that alters practically all rights, privileges, and legal status of peacetime. Unless and until that is declared, peacetime status prevails.

Much irritation has been caused by matters in what has been called "an unsigned article." There was no unsigned article. There were a series of short notes announcing new books. Since 1905 the writer has contributed both longer reviews, which it was the custom to sign, and short notices, which it was the custom to print without signature, to this and other journals at this University. A few years ago, at a time when the writer was absent, a new policy of initialing such short notes was inaugurated. The writer had no reason to consider it mandatory. A fair number of such initials were to him meaningless and authorship thereby less easily recognizable than by style and manner of writing. As editor, this writer did not consider such short notes on new books worth a signature, but he has made no attempt to hide or disguise his style and manner, which he believes to be sufficiently individual and easily recognizable.

The chief irritation was expressed against what was designated from near the Atlantic seacoast as "anti-British bias." As to this, the writer on his part has two things to say. First, in spite of Gallup polls and other similar devices, this writer has yet to learn or recognize as valid that to be a real American one must be British or pro-British and must not dare to be anti-British or, a very different matter, make any statements which might be considered anti-British. Second, what was meant was (a) that statements of fact concerning British bombing and other policy, some made by a British author, but not of this war or this war area, were quoted from books noticed, though they did not represent all British actions as lily white; (b) that a book or two were characterized as British propaganda or emanating from agencies of which there is good reason to believe that they are part and parcel of such

propaganda on all of which this writer has seen no evidence to change his judgment.

In somewhat friendlier fashion the writer has been told that what had been written might hurt some, meaning presumably their feelings. As to this again two things are here stated. In the first place, this writer has never been asked whether his feelings as a good and proper American according to his own lights had been hurt, and when they were, he has neither lamented nor complained, and as long as he retains strength and clarity of mind does not expect to. Second, it is hardly a scientific attitude that statements of important facts found, which may hurt someone's feelings must not therefore be made, or that judgments honestly formed on what is honestly believed to be a factual basis must for similar reasons not be published.

Lastly, lest people who have been honored by printing their names on this *Journal* as co-operating or associate editors might be unjustly suspected or accused in this matter, the writer wishes again to state two things. First, these names have been a form under which respected colleagues have been honored and the *Journal* furnished to them without cost; they were not expected to share in editorial labors. Second, lest any doubt still prevail in anyone's mind and any of his colleagues be "hurt" thereby, let it here be stated unequivocally that the statements in question were written by this writer as editor of this *Journal*.

In order that work of distinct human value may not be lost to coming years and generations, whose rational sanity will be less troubled by the unsound passions of this day, this writer feels very deeply that it is incumbent on him to present that work in full in this number, as he thinks it ought under the circumstances to be presented. The herd may be stirred and milling and about to be rushed into a deadly and devastating stampede. What is here set down in cold print of valuable and hitherto wholly or largely unknown history and knowledge—that will stand for such decades, generations, and centuries, as it deserves, whatever blood may be spilt usefully or uselessly, and whatever constructions of "civilization" may crumble.

POSTLUDE

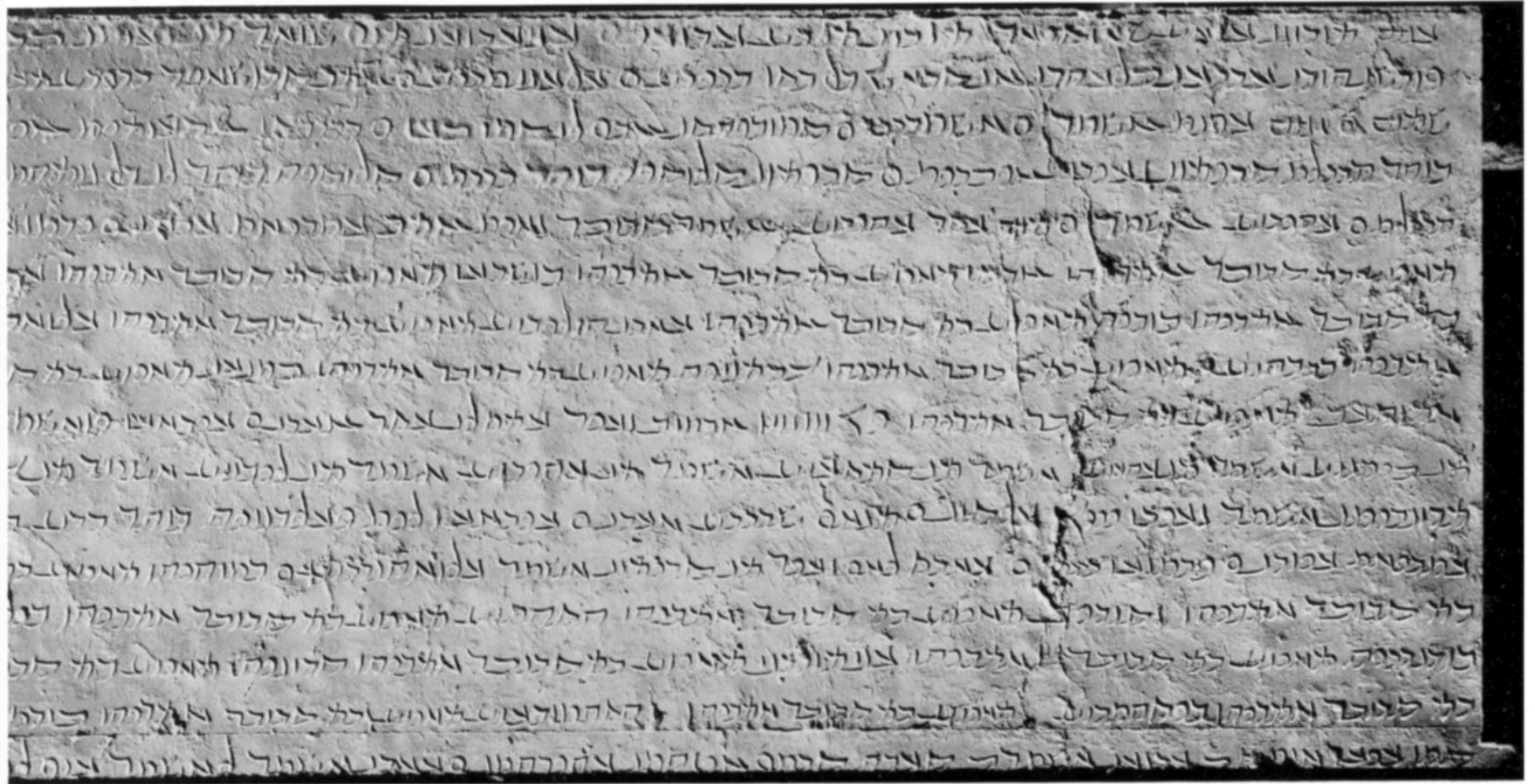
The writer has sensed for a longer time than most of his friends know that this would be his farewell number of this *Journal*. What he has given to it here is the greatest effort of which his forces are capable. He now finds himself in sufficient disagreement with a sufficiently large majority of his colleagues to make it to the best interest of his Department, the Oriental Institute, the *Journal*, the Press, and the University that he relinquish to them editorial control of this *Journal* beginning with the next volume.

This is done without rancor and without regret. The writer does not regret what he has contributed or tried to contribute to his interlude in the life of the *Journal*. Whatever may be the qualities or defects of that interlude, this

writer has given the best he has and has registered there squarely and honestly, without fear or favor, what he is, what he knows or believes he knows, and what he thinks. He is not ashamed of anything that can be found there, and he does not believe that his great University has or need ever have any reason to be ashamed of him.

The writer has no regrets about leaving this *Journal* in the hands of the colleagues he knows or others yet to come. He may think them at times or in some matters mistaken, as they think him. He honors their honesty, as he believes they honor his, and he respects that ability which will always be found among them to carry on a proud tradition of fifty years by improving for their day what honored predecessors have made of their share in the past.

SHAHPUHR KZ ARS PARTH REPLICAS



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[illegible]

